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VOL. VII.—NO. 48. NEW YORK, FEBRUARY 27, 1898. PRICE 3 CENTS.

WHAT MEANS THIS STRIKE?

Address Delivered by Daniel De Leon in the City Hall of New Bedford, Mass.,
February 11, 1898.

[From a stenographic report.]

Working men and working women of
New Bedford, ye striking textile work-
ers; and all of you others, who, though
not now on strike, have been on strike
before this, and will be on strike some
other time—

It has been the habit in this country
and in England that, when a strike is
on, "stars" in the Labor Movement are
invited to appear on the scene, and
entertain the strikers; entertain them
and keep them in good spirit with rosy
promises and prophecies, funny anec-
dotes, bombastic recitations, in prose
and poetry; stuff them full of rhetoric
and wind—very much in the style that
some Generals do, who, by means of
bad whiskey, seek to keep up the courage
of their soldiers whom they are
otherwise unable to beguile. Such has
been the habit in the past; to a great
extent it continues to be the habit in
the present; it was so during the late
miners' strike; it has been so to some
extent here in New Bedford; and it is so
everywhere, to the extent that ignorance
of the Social Question predominates.
To the extent, however, that Socialism
gets a footing among the work-
ing class such false and puerile tactics
are thrown aside. The Socialist work-
ingmen of New Bedford, on whose invita-
tion I am here; all those of us who are
members of that class-conscious
revolutionary international organiza-
tion of the working class, that through-
out the world stands out to-day as the
leading and most promising feature of
the age—all such would consider it a
crime on the part of the men, whom
our organization sends forth to preach
the Gospel of Labor, if they were to
spend their platform time in "tickling"
the workers. Our organization sends us
out to teach the workers, to enlighten
them on the great issue before them,
and the great historic drama in which
most of them are still unconscious
actors. Some of you, accustomed to a
different diet may find my speech dry;
if there be any such here, let him leave;
he has not yet graduated from that
primary school reared by Capitalism in
which the question of wages is forced
upon the workers as a serious question,
and they are taught that it demands
serious thought to grapple with, and
solve it. If, however, you have gradu-
ated from that primary department,
have come here with the requisite
earnestness, then you will not leave this
hall without having, so to speak, caught
firm hold of the cable of the Labor
Movement; then the last strike of this
sort has been seen in New Bedford;
then, the strikes that may follow will
be as different from this as toddling in-
fancy is from vigorous manhood; then
you will have entered upon that safe
and sure path along which, not, as
heretofore, eternal disaster will mark
your tracks, but New Bedford, Massa-
chusetts and the nation herself will
successively fall into your hands, with
freedom as the crowning fruit of your
efforts. (Applause.)

Three years ago I was in your midst
during another strike. The super-
cilious observer who looks back to your
attitude during that strike, who looks
back to your attitude during the strikes
that preceded that one, who now turns
his eyes to your attitude in the present
strike, and who discovers substantially
no difference between your attitude now
and then might say, "Why, it is a waste
of time to speak to such men; they learn
nothing from experience; they will
eternally fight the same hopeless battle;
the battle to establish 'safe relations'
with the capitalist class, with the same
hopeless weapon, the 'pure and simple'
organization of labor!" But the Social-
ist does not take that view. There is
one thing about your conduct that en-
tles for and entitles you to the warm
sympathy of the Socialist, and that is
that, despite your persistent errors in
fundamental principles, in aims and
methods, despite the illusions that you
are chasing after, despite the increasing
poverty and accumulating failures that
press upon you, despite all that you
preserve manhood enough not to submit
to oppression, but rise in the rebel-
lion that is implied in a strike. The at-
titude of workingmen engaged in a
bona fide strike is an inspiring one. It
is an earnest that slavery will not pre-
vail. The slave alone who will not rise
against his master, who will meekly
bend his back to the lash and turn his
cheek to him who plucks his beard—
that slave alone is hopeless. But the
slave, who, as you of New Bedford, per-
sists, despite failures and poverty, in
rebellion, there is always hope for. This
is the reason I have considered it worth
my while to leave my home and inter-
rupt my work in New York, and come
here, and spend a few days with you.
I bank my hopes wholly and build en-
tirely upon this sentiment of rebellion
within you.

WHERE DO WAGES COME, AND WHEN DO THEY
What you now stand in need of, says
a few elemental principles of political
economy and of sociology. Be not
frightened at the words. It is only the
capitalist professors who try to make
them so difficult of understanding that
the very mentioning of them is expected
to throw the workingman into a palpita-
tion of the heart. The subjects are
easy of understanding.
The first point that a workingman
should be clear upon is this: What is
the source of the wages he receives;
what is the source of the profits his em-
ployer lives on? The following dialogue
is not uncommon:
Workingman—"Do I understand you
rightly, that you Socialists want to
abolish the capitalist class?"
Capitalist—"That is what we are

Workingman—"You are? Then I
don't want any of you. Why, even now
my wages are small; even now I can
barely get along. If you abolish the
capitalist I'll have nothing; there will
be nobody to support me."

Who knows how many workingmen
in this hall are typified by the work-
ingman in this dialogue?

When, on pay-day, you reach out
your horny, unwashed hand it is empty.
When you take it back again, your
wages are on it. Hence the belief that
the capitalist is the source of your
living, that he is your bread-giver, your
supporter. Now that is an error, an
optic illusion.

If, early in the morning, you go on
top of some house and look eastward,
it will seem to you that the sun moves
and that you are standing still. Indeed,
that was at one time the general and
accepted belief. But it was an error,
based upon an optic illusion. So long
as that error prevailed, the sciences
could hardly make any progress. Hu-
manity virtually stood stock still. Not
until the illusion was discovered and
the error overthrown, not until it was
ascertained that things were just the
other way, that the sun stood still, and
that it was our planet that moved at a
breakneck rate of speed, was any real
progress possible. So likewise with
this illusion about the source of wages. You
can not budge, you can not move one
step forward unless you discover that,
in this respect also, the fact is just the
reverse of the appearance; that, not the
capitalist, but the workingman, is the
source of the worker's living; that it is
not the capitalist who supports the
workingman, but the workingman who
supports the capitalist (loud applause);
that it is not the capitalist who gives
bread to the workingman, but the work-
ingman who gives himself a dry crust,
and sumptuously stocks the table of the
capitalist (long and loud applause).
This is a cardinal point in political eco-
nomy; and this is the point I wish first
of all to establish in your minds. Now,
to the proof.

Say that I own \$100,000. Don't ask
me where I got it. If you do, I would
have to answer you in the language of
all capitalists that "Such a question is
un-American." You must not look into
the source of this my "original accumu-
lation." It is un-American to pry into
such secrets. (Laughter.) Presently I
shall take you into my confidence. For
the present I shall draw down the
blinds, and keep out your un-American
curiosity. I have \$100,000, and am a
capitalist. Now, I may not know much;
no capitalist does; but I know a few
things, and among them is a little plain
arithmetic. I take a pencil and put
down on a sheet of paper "\$100,000."
Having determined that I shall need at
least \$5,000 a year to live with comfort,
I divide the \$100,000 by \$5,000; the
quotient is 20. My hair then begins to
stand on end. The 20 tells me that, if
I pull \$5,000 annually out of \$100,000,
these are exhausted during that term.
At the beginning of the 21st year I
shall have nothing left. "Heaven and
earth, I would then have to go to work
if I want to live!" No capitalist relishes
that thought. He will tell you, and pay
his politicians, professors and political
parsons, to tell you, that "labor is hon-
orable." He is perfectly willing to let
you have that undivided honor, and will
do all he can that you may not be de-
prived of any part of it; but, as to him-
self, he has for work a constitutional
aversion; the capitalist runs away
from work like the man bitten
by a mad dog runs away
from water. I want to live without
work on my \$100,000 and yet keep my
capital untouched. If you ask any
farmer, he will tell you that if he in-
vests in a Durham cow she will yield
him a supply of 16 quarts a day, but,
after some years, the supply goes down;
she will run dry; and then a new cow
must be got. But, I, the capitalist, aim
at making my capital a sort of \$100,000-
cow, which I shall annually be able to
milk out of \$5,000 without her ever
running dry. I want, in short, to per-
form the proverbially impossible feat
of eating my cake, and yet have it. The
capitalist system performs the feat for
me. How?

I go to a broker. I say, Mr. Broker, I
have \$100,000; I want you to invest that
for me. I don't tell him that I have a
special liking for New Bedford mills'
stock; I don't tell him I have a special
fancy for railroad stock; I leave the
choosing with him. The only direction
I give him is to get the stock in such a
corporation as will pay the highest
dividend. My broker has a list of all of
these corporations, your New Bedford
corporations among them, to the extent
that they may be listed; he makes the
choice, say of one of your mills right
here in this town. I hire a vault in a
safe deposit company, and I put my
stock into it. I lock it up, put the key
in my pocket, and I go and have a good
time. If it is too cold in the north I go
down to Florida; if it is too hot there I
go to the Adirondack mountains; occa-
sionally I take a spin across the At-
lantic and run the gauntlet of all of the
gambling dens in Europe; I spend my
time with fast horses and faster women;
I never put my foot inside the factory
that I hold stock of; I don't even come
to the town in which it is located, and
yet, lo and behold, a miracle takes
place!

Those of you versed in Bible
lore surely have read or heard about
the miracle that God performed when
the Jews were in the desert and about
to die of hunger. The Lord opened the
skies and let manna come. But the
Jews had to get up early in the morn-
ing, before the sun rose; if they over-
slept themselves the sun would melt the
manna, and they would have nothing to

eat. They had to get up early, and go
out, and stoop down and pick up the
manna, and put it in baskets and take
it to their tents and eat it. With the
appearance of the manna on earth the
miracle ended. But the miracles that
happen in this capitalist system of
production are so wonderful that those
recorded in the Bible don't hold a
candle to them. The Jews had to do
some work, but I, stock-holding capi-
talist, need do no work at all. I can
turn night into day, and day into night.
I can lie flat on my back all day and
all night; and every three months my
manna comes down to me in the shape
of dividends. Where does it come from?
What does that dividend represent?

In the factory of which my broker
bought stock, workmen, thousands of
them, were at work; they have woven
cloth that has been put upon the
market of the value of \$7,000; out
of the \$7,000 that that cloth is
worth my wage workers receive
\$2,000 in wages, and I receive
the \$1,000 as profits or dividends.
Did I, who never put my foot inside of
the mill, did I, who never put my foot
inside of New Bedford, did I, who don't
know how a loom looks; did I, who
contributed nothing whatever toward
the weaving of that cloth; did I do any
work whatever toward producing those
\$5,000 that came to me? No man, with
brains in his head instead of saw-dust,
can deny that those \$7,000 are exclu-
sively the product of the wage workers
in that mill. That out of the wealth,
thus produced by them alone, they get
\$2,000 in wages, and I, who did nothing
at all; I get the \$5,000. The wages these
workers receive represent wealth that
they have themselves produced; the
profits that the capitalist pockets rep-
resent wealth that the wage workers
produced, and that the capitalists, does
what?—let us call things by their names
—that the capitalist steals from them.

THE STOCK CORPORATION.
You may ask, But is that the rule, is
not that illustration an exception?—
Yes; it is the rule; the exception is the
other thing. The leading industries of
the United States are to-day stock
concerns, and thither will all others
worth mentioning move. An increas-
ing volume of capital in money is held
in stocks and shares. The individual
capitalist holds stock in a score of con-
cerns in different trades, located in
different concerns, too many and too
varied for him even to attempt to run.
By virtue of his stock, he draws his in-
come from them; which is the same as
saying that he lives on what the work-
ingmen produce but are robbed of. Nor
is the case at all essentially different
with the concerns that have not yet de-
veloped into stock corporations.

"DIRECTORS"
Again, you may ask, The conclusion
that what stock-holders live on is
stolen wealth because they evidently
perform no manner of work is irrefu-
table, but are all stock-holders equally
idle and superfluous; are there not some
who do perform some work; are there
not "Directors"?—There are "Direct-
ors," but these gentlemen bear a title
much like those "Generals" and
"Majors" and "Colonels" who now go
about, and whose generalship, major-
ship and colonelship consisted in se-
curing substitutes during the war. (Ap-
plause.) These "Directors" are simply
the largest stock-holders, which is the
same as to say that they are the largest
sponges; their directorship consists in
directing conspiracies against rival
"Directors." In bribing Legislatures,
Executives and Judiciaries, in picking
out and hiring men out of your midst to
serve as bell-weather, that will lead
you, like cattle, to the capitalist
shambles, and tinkle you into content-
ment and hopefulness while you are
being fleeced. The Court decisions re-
moving responsibility from the "Di-
rectors" are numerous and increasing;
each such decision establishes, from the
capitalist Government's own mouth, the
idleness and superfluity of the capi-
talist class. These "Directors," and
the capitalist class in general, may per-
form some "work," they do perform
some "work," but that "work" is not of
a sort that directly or indirectly aids
production;—no more than the intense
mental strain and activity of the
"work" done by the pick-pocket is di-
rectly or indirectly productive. (Ap-
plause.)

"ORIGINAL ACCUMULATION."
Finally, you may ask, "No doubt the
stock-holder does no work, and hence
lives on the wealth he produces; no
doubt these 'Directors' have a title
that only emphasizes their idleness by
a swindle, and, consequently, neither
they are other than sponges on the
working class; but did not your own
illustration start with the supposition
that the capitalist in question had
\$100,000, is not his original capital en-
titled to some returns?"—This question
opens an important one; and now I
shall, as I promised you, take you into
my confidence; I shall raise the curtain
which I pulled down before the ques-
tion. Where did I get it? I shall now
let you pry into my secret.

Where does this original capital, or
"original accumulation," come? Does it
grow on the capitalist like hair on his
face, or nails on his fingers and toes?
Does he secrete it as he secretes sweat
from his body? Let me take one illus-
tration of many.
Before our present Governor, the
Governor of New York was Levi Par-
sons Morton. The gentleman must be
known to all of you. Besides having
been Governor of the Empire State, he
was once Vice-President of the Nation,
and also at one time our Minister to
France. Mr. Morton is a leading
"gentleman"; he wears the best of
brocade; his shirt-bosoms are of spot-
less white; his nails are trimmed by
manicurists; he uses the elite lan-
guage; he has front-pews in a number
of churches; he is a pattern of morality,
law and order; and he is a multi-mil-
lionaire capitalist. How did he get his
start millionaire-ward? Mr. Morton,
being a Republican, I shall refer you to
a Republican journal, the New York
"Tribune," for the answer to this in-
teresting question. The "Tribune" of

the day after Mr. Morton's nomination
for Governor in 1894 gave his biography.
There we are informed that Mr. Morton
was born in New Hampshire of poor
parents; he was industrious, he was
clever, he was pushing, and he settled,
a poor young man, in New York city,
where, in 1860, mark the date, he
started a clothing establishment; then,
in rapid succession, we are informed
that he failed, and—STARTED A
BANK! (Loud laughter and applause.)
A man may start almost any kind of a
shop without a cent. If the landlord
give him credit for the rent, and the
brewer, the shoe manufacturer, the
cigar manufacturer, etc., etc., give you
credit for the truck, you may start a
saloon, a shoe shop, a cigar shop, etc.,
etc., without any cash, do business and
pay off your debt with the proceeds of
your sales. But there is ONE shop
that you can not start in that way. That
shop is the banking shop. For that you
must have cash on hand. You can no
more shave notes without money than
you can shave whiskers without razors.
Now, then, the man who just previously
stood up before a notary public and
swore "So help him, God," he had no
money to pay his creditors, immedi-
ately after, without having in the mean-
time married an heiress, has money
enough to start a bank on! Where did
he get it? (Applause.) Read the
biographies of any of our founders of
capitalism; you will find them all to be
essentially the same, or
suggestively silent upon the doings of
our man during the period that he
gathers his "original accumulation." You
will find that "original capital" to be
the child of fraudulent failures and
fires, of high-handed crime of some sort
or other, or of the sneaking crime of
appropriating trust funds, etc. With
such "original capital"—gotten by dint
of such "cleverness," "push" and "in-
dustry"—as a weapon, the "original"
capitalist proceeds to fleece the working
class that has been less "industrious,"
"pushing" and "clever" than he. If he
consumes all his feelings, his capital
remains of its original size in his
hands, unless some other gentleman of
the road, gifted with greater "industry,"
"push" and "cleverness" than he, comes
around and relieves him of it; if he con-
sume not the whole of his feelings, his
capital moves upward million-ward.

The case is proved: Labor alone pro-
duces all wealth. Wages are that part
of Labor's own product that the work-
ingman is allowed to keep; profits are
the present and running stealings per-
petrated by the capitalist upon the
workingman from day to day, from
week to week, from month to month,
from year to year; capital is the accu-
mulated past stealings of the capitalist—
carved upon upon his "original accu-
mulation." (Long applause.)

Who of you before me fails now to
understand, or would still deny that,
not the capitalist supports the work-
ingman, but the workingman supports the
capitalist; or still holds that the work-
ingman could not exist without the capi-
talist? If any there be, let him raise
his hand and speak up now—

None? Then I may consider this
point settled; and shall move on.

THE CLASS STRUGGLE.
The second point, on which it is ab-
solutely necessary that you be clear, is
the nature of your relation, as work-
ing people, to the capitalist in this capi-
talist system of production. This point
is an inevitable consequence of the first.

You have seen that the wages you
live on and the profits the capitalist
rights in are the two parts into which is
divided the wealth that you produce.
The workingman wants a larger and
larger share, so does the capitalist. A
thing can not be divided into two shares
so as to increase the share of each. If
the workingman produces, say, \$4 worth
of wealth a day, and the capitalist keeps
2, there are only 2 left for the work-
ingman; if the capitalist keeps 3, there is
only 1 left for the workingman; if the
capitalist keeps 3½, there is only ½ left
for the workingman. Inversely, if the
workingman pushes up his share from
½ to 1, there are only 3 left to the capi-
talist; if the workingman secures 2, the
capitalist will be reduced to 2; if the
workingman push still onward and
keep 3, the capitalist will have to put
up with 1;—and if the workingman
makes up his mind to enjoy all that
he produces, and keep all the
4, THE CAPITALIST WILL HAVE TO
GO TO WORK. (Long applause.) These
plain figures upset the theory about
the Workingman and the Capitalist
being brothers. Capital, meaning the
Capitalist Class, and Labor, have been
portrayed by capitalist illustrated
papers as Chang and Eng; this, I re-
member, was done notably by "Harper's
Weekly," the property of one of the
precious "Seeley Diners" (laughter);—
you remember that "dinner." (Laugh-
ter.) The Siamese Twins were held to-
gether by a piece of flesh. Wherever
Shang went Eng was sure to go; if
Shang was happy, Eng's pulse throbed
harder; if Shang caught cold, Eng
sneezed in chorus with him; when
Shang died, Eng followed suit within
five minutes. Do we find that to be the
relation of the workingman and the
capitalist? Do you find that the fatter
the capitalist, the fatter also grow the
workingmen? Is not your experience
rather that the wealthier the capitalist,
the poorer are the workingmen? That
the more magnificent and prouder the
residences of the capitalist, the dingier
and humbler become those of the work-
ingmen? that the happier the life of
the capitalist's wife, the greater the op-
portunities of his children for enjoy-
ment and education, the heavier be-
comes the cross borne by the work-
ingmen's wives, while their children are
crowded more and more from the
schools and deprived of the pleasures of
childhood? Is that your experience, or
is it not? (Voices all over the hall: "It
is!" and applause.)

The pregnant point that underlies
these pregnant facts is that, between
the Working Class and the Capitalist
Class, there is an irrepressible con-
flict, a class struggle for life. No glib

tongued politician can vault over it; no
capitalist professor or official statisti-
cian can argue it away; no capitalist
parson can veil it; no labor fakir can
straddle it; no "reform" architect can
bridge it over. It crops up in all man-
ner of ways, like in this strike, in ways
that disconcert all the plans and all the
schemes of those who would deny or
ignore it. It is a struggle that will not
down, and must be ended only by either
the total subjugation of the Working
Class, or the abolition of the Capitalist
Class. (Loud applause.)

Thus you perceive that the theory on
which your "pure and simple" trade or-
ganizations are grounded, and on which
you went into this strike, is false. There
being no "common interests," but only
HOSTILE INTERESTS, between the
Capitalist Class and the Working Class,
the battle you are waging to establish
"safe relations" between the two is a
hopeless one.

Put to the touchstone of these un-
deniable principles the theory upon
which your "pure and simple" trade or-
ganizations are built, and you will find
it to be false; examined by the light of
these undeniable principles the road
that your false theory makes you travel
and the failures that have marked your
career must strike you as its inevitable
result. How are we to organize and
proceed? you may ask. Before answer-
ing this question, let me take up another
branch of the subject. Its presentation
will sweep aside another series of il-
lusions that beset the mind of the work-
ing class, and will, with what has been
said, give us a sufficient sweep over the
ground to lead us to the right answer.

DEVELOPMENT OF CAPITALIST SOCIETY.
Let us take a condensed page of the
country's history. For the sake of
plainness, and forced to it by the ex-
igency of condensation, I shall assume
small figures. Place yourselves back a
sufficient number of years with but ten
competing weaving concerns in the
community. How the individual tea-
owners came by the "original accumula-
tions" that enabled them to start as
capitalists you now know. (Laughter.)
Say that each of the ten capitalists em-
ploys ten men; that each man receives
\$2 a day, and that the product of each of
the ten sets of men in each of the ten
establishments is worth \$40 a day. You
now also know that it is out of these \$40
worth of wealth, produced by the men,
that each of the ten competing capi-
talists takes the \$20 that he pays the ten
men in wages, and that of that same \$40
worth of wealth he takes the \$20 that he
pockets as profits. Each of these ten
capitalists makes, accordingly, \$120 a
week.

This amount of profits, one should
think, should satisfy our ten capitalists.
It is a goodly sum to pocket, without
work. Indeed, it may satisfy some, say
most of them. But if for any of many
reasons it does not satisfy any one of
them, the whole string of them is set in
commotion. "Individuality" is a delty
at whose shrine the capitalist worships,
or affects to worship. In point of fact,
capitalism robs of individuality, not
only the working class, but capitalists
themselves. The action of any one of
the lot compels action by all, like a row
of bricks, the dropping of one makes all
the others drop successively. Let us
take No. 1. He is not satisfied with \$120
a week. Of the many reasons he may
have for that, let's take this: He has a
little daughter; eventually, she will be
of marriageable age; whom is he plan-
ning to marry her to? Before the public,
particularly before the workers, he
will declaim on the "sovereignty" of our
citizens, and declare the country is
stocked with nothing but "peers." In
his heart, though, he feels otherwise.
He looks even upon his fellow capi-
talists as plebeians; he aspires at a Prince,
a Duke, or at least a Count for a son-in-
law; and, in visions, truly reflecting the
vulgarity of his mind, he beholds him-
self the grandfather of Prince, Duke or
Count grandbrats. To realize this
dream he must have money; Princes,
etc., are expensive luxuries. His present
income, \$120 a week, will not buy the
luxury. He must have more. To his
employees he will recommend reliance
on heaven; he himself knows that if he
wants more money it will not come from
heaven, but must come from the sweat of
his employees' brow. As all the wealth
produced in his shop is \$40 a day, he
knows that, if he increases his share of
\$20 to \$30, there will be only \$10 left for
wages. He tries this. He announces a
wage reduction of 50 per cent. His men
spontaneously draw themselves to-
gether and refuse to work; they go on
strike. What is the situation?

In those days it needed skill, acquired
by long training, to do the work; there
may have been corner-loafers out of
work, but not weavers; possibly at some
great distance there may have been
weavers actually obtainable, but in
those days there was neither telegraph
nor railroad to communicate with them;
finally, the nine competitors of No. 1,
having no strike on hand, continued to
produce, and thus threatened to crowd
No. 1 out of the market. This circum-
stance, No. 1 caves in. He withdraws
his order of wage reduction. "Come in,"
he says to his striking workmen, "let's
make up; Labor and Capital are brother-
ers; the most loving of brothers some-
times fall out; we have had such a fall-
ing out; it was a slip; you have organ-
ized yourselves in a union with a \$2 a
day wage scale; I shall never fight the
union; I love it, come back to work."
And the men did.

Thus ended that first strike. The vic-
tory won by the men made many of
them feel bold. At their first next meet-
ing they argued: "The employer want-
ed to reduce our wages and got left;
why may not we take the hint and re-
duce his profits by demanding higher
wages; we licked him in his attempt
to lower our wages, why should we not
lick him in an attempt to resist our
demand for more pay?" But the labor
movement is democratic. No one man
can run things. At that union meet-
ing the motion to demand higher pay
is made by one member, another must
second it; amendments and amend-
ments to the amendments are put with
the requisite seconders; debate follows;

points of order are raised, ruled on, ap-
pealed from and settled;—in the mean-
time it grows late, the men must be at
work early the next morning, the hour
to adjourn arrives, and the whole mat-
ter is left pending. Thus much for the
men.

Now for the employer. He locks him-
self up in his closet. With clenched
fists and scowl on brow, he gnashes
his teeth at the victory of his "brother"
Labor, its union and its union regula-
tions. And he ponders. More money
he must have and is determined to have.
This resolution is arrived at with the
swiftness and directness which capital-
ists are able to. Differently from his men,
he is not many, but one. He makes the
motion, seconds it himself, puts it, and
carries it unanimously. More profits
he SHALL have. But how? Aid comes
to him through the mail. The letter-
carrier brings him a circular from a
machine shop. Such circulars are fre-
quent even to-day. It reads like this:
"Mr. No. 1, you are employing ten
men; I have in my machine shop a
beautiful machine with which you can
produce, with 5 men, twice as much as
now with 10; this machine does not
chew tobacco; it does not smoke; (some
of these circulars are cruel and add:)
this machine has no wife who gets sick
and keeps it home to attend to her; it
has no children who die, and whom to
bury it must stay away from work; it
never goes on strike; it works and
grumbles not; come and see it."

INVENTION.
Right here let me lock a switch at
which not a few people are apt to
switch off and be banded. Some may
think: "Well, at least that machine capi-
talist is entitled to his profits; he surely
is an inventor." A grave error.
Look into the history of our inventors,
and you will see that those who really
profited by their genius are so few that
you can count them on the fingers of
your hands, and have fingers to spare.
The capitalists either take advantage
of the inventor's stress and buy his in-
vention for a song; the inventor be-
lieves he can make his haul with his
next invention; but before that is per-
fected, he is as poor as before, and the
same advantage is again taken of him;
until finally the brow of his brains
being exhausted, he sinks into a pau-
per's grave, leaving the fruit of his gen-
ius for private capitalists to grow
rich on; or the capitalist simply steals
the invention and gets his courts to
decide against the inventor. From Ely
Whitney down, that is the treatment
the inventor, as a rule, receives from
the capitalist class.

Such a case, illustrative of the whole
situation, happened recently. The Bon-
sack Machine Co. discovered that its
employees made numerous inventions,
and it decided to appropriate them
wholesale. To this end, it locked out
its men, and demanded of all applicants
for work that they sign a contract
whereby, in "consideration of employ-
ment" they assign to the Company all
their rights in whatever invention they
may make during the term of their em-
ployment. One of these employees, who
had signed such a contract, informed
the Company one day that he thought
he could invent a machine by which
cigarettes could be held closed by crimp-
ing at the ends, instead of pasting. This
was a valuable idea; and he was told to
go ahead. For six months he worked
at this invention and perfected it; and,
having, during all that time, received
not a cent in wages or otherwise from
the Company, he patented his invention
himself. The Company immediately
brought suit against him in the Federal
Courts, claiming that the invention was
its property; and—THE FEDERAL
COURT DECIDED IN FAVOR OF THE
COMPANY. THUS ROBBING THE
INVENTOR OF HIS TIME, HIS
MONEY, OF THE FRUIT OF HIS
GENIUS, AND OF HIS UNQUESTION-
ABLE RIGHTS!! (Cries of "Shame"
in the hall.) "Shame?" Say not
"Shame!" He who himself applies the
torch to his own house has no cause to
cry "Shame!" when the flames con-
sume it. Say, rather "Natural!" and
smiling your own breasts say "Ours
the fault!" Having elected into power the
Democratic, Republican, Free trade,
Protection, Silver or Gold platforms of
the capitalist class, the working class
has none but itself to blame, if the of-
ficial lackeys of that class turn against
the working class the public powers put
into their hands. (Loud applause.) The
capitalist owner of the machine shop
that sends the circular did not make
the invention.

THE SCENES BEGIN TO TURN.
To return to No. 1. He goes and sees
the machine; finds it to be as represent-
ed; buys it; puts it up in his shop;
picks out of his 10 men the 5 least ac-
tive in the late strike; sets them to
work at \$2 a day as before; and full of
bows and smirks, addresses the other
5 thus: "I am sorry I have no places
for you; I believe in union principles,
and am paying the union scale to the
5 men I need; I don't need you now;
good bye; I hope I'll see you again."
And he means this last as you will pres-
ently perceive.

What is the situation now? No. 1
pays, as before, \$2 a day, but to only 5
men; these, with the aid of the ma-
chine, now produce twice as much as
the 10 did before; their product is now
\$80 worth of wealth; as only \$10 of this
goes in wages, the capitalist has a profit
of \$70 a day, or 250 per cent. more. He
is moving fast towards his Prince, Duke
or Count son-in-law. (Laughter and
applause.)
Now watch the men whom his ma-
chine displaced; their career throws
quite some light on the whole ques-
tion. Are they not "American citizens"?
Is not this a "Republic with a Constitu-
tion"? Is anything else wanted to get
a living? Watch them! They go to
No. 2 for a job; before they quite reach
the place, the doors open and 5 of that
concern are likewise thrown out upon

the street. What happened there? The "individuality" of No. 2 yielded to the pressure of capitalist development. The purchase of the machine by No. 1 enabled him to produce so much more plentifully and cheaply; if No. 2 did not do likewise, he would be crowded out of the market by No. 1. No. 2 accordingly, also invested in a machine, with the result that 3 of his men are also thrown out.

These 10 unemployed proceed to No. 3, hoping for better luck there. But what sight is that that meets their astonished eyes? Not 5 men, as walked out of Nos. 1 and 2, but all No. 3's 10 have landed on the street; and, what is more surprising yet to them, No. 3 himself is on the street, now reduced to the condition of a workman along with his former employees. What is it that happened there? In this instance the "individuality" of No. 3 was crushed by capitalist development. The same reason that drove No. 2 to procure the machine, rendered the machine indispensable to No. 3. But having, differently from his competitors Nos. 1 and 2, spent all his savings on the workmen instead of saving up some, he is now unable to make the purchase; is, consequently, unable to produce as cheaply as they; is, consequently, driven into bankruptcy, and lands in the class of the proletariat, whose ranks are thus increased.

The now 21 unemployed proceed in their hunt for work, and make the round of the other mills. The previous experiences are repeated. Not only are there no jobs to be had, but everywhere workers are thrown out, if the employer got the machine; and if he did not, workers with their former employers, now ruined, join the army of the unemployed.

What happened in that industry happened in all others. Thus the ranks of the capitalist class are thinned out, and the class is made more powerful, while the ranks of the working class are swelled, and the class is made weaker. This is the process that explains how, on the one hand, your New Bedford mills become the property of ever fewer men; how, according to the census, their aggregate capital runs up to over \$14,000,000; how, despite "bad times," their profits run up to upwards of \$1,300,000; how, on the other hand, your position becomes steadily more precarious.

No. 1's men return to where they started from. Scabbing they will not. Uninformed upon the mechanism of capitalism, they know not what struck them; and they expect "better times."

Just as so many equally uninformed workmen are expecting to-day, in the meantime, thinking thereby to hasten the advent of the good times, No. 1's men turn out the Republican party and turn in the Democratic, turn out the Democratic and turn in the Republican. Just as our misled workmen are now doing (Applause), not understanding that, whether they put in or out Republicans or Democrats, Protectionists or Free traders, Goldbugs or Silverbugs, they are every time putting in the capitalist platform, upholding the social principle that throws them out of work or reduces their wages (Long applause).

But endurance has its limits. The Superintendent of the Pennsylvania Railroad for the Indiana Division, speaking, of course, from the capitalist standpoint, recently said: "Many solutions are being offered for the labor question; but there is just one and no more. It is this: Lay a silver dollar on the shelf, and at the end of a year you have a silver dollar left; lay a workman on the shelf, and at the end of a month you have a skeleton left. (Loud applause.) This," said he, "is the solution of the labor problem." In short, starve out the workers. No. 1's men finally reached that point. Finally that happens that few if any can resist: A man may stand starvation, and resist the sight of starving wife and children; but if he has not wherewith to buy medicine to save the life of a sick wife or child, all control is lost over him. On the heels of starvation, sickness follows, and No. 1's men throw to the wind all union principles; they are now ready to do anything to save their dear ones. Cap in hand, they appear before No. 1, the starch taken clean out of them during the period they "lay on the shelf." They ask for work, they themselves offer to work for \$1 a day. And No. 1, the brother of Labor, who but recently expressed devotion to the union, what of him? His eyes sparkle at "seeing again" the men he had thrown out; at their offer to work for less than the men now employed, his chest expands, and, grabbing them by the hand in a delirium of patriotic ecstasy, he says: "Welcome, my noble American citizens (Applause); I am proud to see you ready to work and earn an honest penny for your dear wives and darling children (Applause); I am delighted to notice that you are not, like so many others, too lazy to work (Applause); let the American eagle screech in honor of your emancipation from the slavery of a rascally union (Long applause); let the American eagle wag his tail an extra wag in honor of your freedom from a dictatorial walking delegate (Long applause); you are my long lost brothers (Laughter and long applause); go in my \$1-a-day brothers!" and he throws his former \$2-a-day brothers heels over head upon the side-walk (Long and prolonged applause).

When the late \$2-a-day men have recovered from their surprise, they determine on war. But what sort of war? Watch them closely, and you may detect many a feature of your own in that mirror. "Have we not struck," argue they, "and beaten this employer once before? If we strike again, we shall again beat him." But the conditions have wholly changed.

In the first place, there were no unemployed skilled workers during that first strike; now there are plenty of them, dumped upon the country, not out of the stowage of vessels from Europe, but by the native-born machine.

In the second place, that very machine has to such an extent eliminated skill that, while formerly only the unemployed in a certain trade could endanger the jobs of those at work in that trade, now the unemployed of all trades (virtually the whole army of the unemployed) bear down upon the employed in each; we know of quondam shoemakers taking the jobs of hatters; quondam hatters taking the jobs of weavers; quondam weavers taking the jobs of cigarmakers; quondam ci-

garmakers taking the jobs of "machinists"; quondam farm-hands taking the jobs of factory hands, etc., etc.; so easy has it become to learn what is now needed to be known of a trade.

In the third place, telegraph and railroads have made all of the unemployed easily accessible to the employer.

Finally, differently from former days, the competitors have to a great extent consolidated; here in New Bedford, for instance, the false appearance of competition between the mill owners is punctured by the fact that to a great extent seemingly "independent" mills are owned by one family, as is the case with the Pierce family.

Not, as at the first strike, with their flanks protected, but now wholly exposed through the existence of a vast army of hungry unemployed; not, as before, facing a divided enemy, but now faced by a consolidated mass of capitalist concerns; how different is not the situation of the strikers! The changed conditions brought about changed results: instead of VICTORY, there was DEFEAT (Applause); and we have had a long series of them. Either hunger drove the men back to work; or the unemployed took their places; or, if the capitalist was in a hurry, he fetched in the help of the strong arm of the government, now HIS GOVERNMENT.

PRINCIPLES OF SOUND ORGANIZATION.

We now have a sufficient survey of the field to enable us to answer the question, How shall we organize so as not to fight the same old hopeless battle?

Proceeding from the knowledge that labor alone produces all wealth; that less and less of this wealth comes to the working class, and more and more of it is plundered by the idle class or capitalist; that this is the result of the working class being stripped of the tool (machine), without which it can not earn a living; and, finally, that the machine or tool has reached such a state of development that it can no longer be operated by the individual but needs the collective effort of many,—proceeding from this knowledge, it is clear that the aim of all intelligent class-conscious workmen must be the overthrow of the system of private ownership in the tools of production because that system keeps them in wage slavery.

Proceeding from the further knowledge of the use made of the Government by the capitalist class, and of the necessity that class is under to own the Government, so as to enable it to uphold and prop up the capitalist system,—proceeding from that knowledge, it is clear that the aim of all intelligent, class-conscious workmen must be to bring the Government under the control of their own class by joining and electing the American wing of the International Socialist party—the Socialist Labor party of America, and thus establish the Socialist Co-operative Republic. (Applause.)

But in the meantime, while moving toward that ideal, though necessary, goal, what to do? The thing can not be accomplished in a day, nor does election come around every twenty-four hours. Is there nothing that we can do for ourselves between election and election?

Yes; plenty.

When crowded, in argument, to the wall by us New Trade Unionists, by us of the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance, your present, or old and "pure and simple" organizations, yield the point of ultimate aims; they grant the ultimate necessity of establishing Socialism; but they claim "the times are not yet ripe" for that; and, not yet being ripe, they lay emphasis upon the claim that the "pure and simple" union does the workers some good NOW by getting something NOW from the employers and from the capitalist parties. We are not "practical," they tell us; they are, let us test this theory on the spot. Here in New Bedford there is not yet a single New Trade Unionist organization in existence. The "pure and simple" trade union has had the field all to itself. All of you, whose wages are NOW higher than they were five years ago, kindly raise a hand. (No hand is raised.) All of you whose wages are now lower than five years ago, please raise a hand. (The hands of the large audience go up.) The proof of the pudding lies in the eating. Not only does "pure and simple" shut out your hope of emancipation by affecting to think such a state of things is unachievable now, but in the meantime and RIGHT NOW, the "good" it does to you, the "something," it secures for you "from the employers and from the capitalists" is lower wages. (Prolonged applause.) That is what their "practicalness" amounts to in point of fact. Presently I shall show you that they prove "practical" only to the labor fakirs who run them, and whom they put up with. No, no; years ago, before capitalism had reached its present development, a trade organization of labor could and did afford protection to the workers, even if, as the "pure and simple" union, it was wholly in the dark on the issue. THAT TIME IS NO MORE.

The New Trade Unionist knows that no one or two, or even half a dozen elections will place in the hands of the working class the Government of the land; and New Trade Unionism, not only wishes to do something now for the workers, but it knows that the thing can be done, and how to do it.

"Pure and Simple" or British trade unionism has done a double mischief to the workers: Besides leaving them in their present pitiable plight, it has caused many to fly off the handle and lose all trust in the power of trade organization. The best of these, those who have not become pessimistic and have not wholly been demoralized, see nothing to be done but voting right on election day—casting their vote straight for the S. L. P. This is a serious error. By thus giving over all participation in the industrial movement, they wholly disconnect themselves from the class struggle that is going on every day; and by putting off their whole activity to a single day in the year—election day—they become floaters in the air. I know many such. Without exception they are dreamy and flighty and unbalanced in their methods.

The utter impotence of "pure and simple" unionism to-day is born of causes that may be divided under two main heads.

One is the contempt in which the capitalist and ruling class holds the working people. In 1886, when instinct was unconsciously to myself, leading me to look into the social problem, when as yet it was to me a confused and blurred interrogation mark, I associated wholly with capitalists. Expressions of

contempt for the workers was common. One day I asked a set of them why they treated their men so hard, and had so poor an opinion of them. "They are ignorant, stupid and corrupt," was the answer, almost in chorus.

"What makes you think so?" I asked.

"Have you met them all?" "No," was the reply, "we have not met them all individually, but we have had to deal with their leaders, and they are ignorant, stupid and corrupt. Surely these leaders must be the best among them, or they would not choose them."

Now, let me illustrate. I understand that two days ago, in this city, Mr. Gompers went off at a tangent and shot off his mouth about me. What he said was too ridiculous for me to answer. You will have noticed that he simply gave what he wishes you to consider as his opinion; he furnished you no facts from which he drew it, so that you could judge for yourselves. He expected you to take him on faith. I shall not insult you by treating you likewise. Here are the facts on which my conclusion is based:

In the State of New York we have a labor law forbidding the working of railroad men more than ten hours. The railroad companies disregard the law; in Buffalo, the switchmen struck in 1892 to enforce the law; thereupon the Democratic Governor, Mr. Flower, who had himself signed the law, sent the whole militia of the State into Buffalo to help the railroad capitalists break the law, incidentally to commit assault and battery with intent to kill as they actually did, upon the workmen. Among our State Senators is one Jacob Cantor. This gentleman hastened to applaud Gov. Flower's brutal violation of his oath of office to uphold the constitution and the laws; Cantor applauded the act as a patriotic one in the defense of "Law and Order." At a subsequent campaign, this Cantor being a candidate for re-election, the New York "Daily News," a capitalist paper of Cantor's political complexion, published an autograph letter addressed to him and intended to be an endorsement of him by Labor. The letter contained this passage among others: "If any one says you are not a friend of Labor, he says what is not true." By whom was this letter written and by whom signed?—by Mr. Samuel Gompers, "President of the American Federation of Labor" (Hisses).

Whom are you hissing, Gompers or me? (Many voices: "Gompers" followed by prolonged applause.)

Do you imagine that the consideration for that letter was merely the "love and affection" of Senator Cantor? (Laughter.)

Again: The Republican party, likewise the Democratic, is a party of the capitalist class; every man who is posted knows that the conduct of its Presidents, Governors, Judges, Congresses and Legislatures can leave no doubt upon the subject. Likewise the free coinage of silver, or Populist party, was, while it lived, well known to be a party of capital; the conduct of its runners, the silver mine barons, who skin and then shoot down their miners, leaves no doubt upon that subject. But the two were deadly opposed: one wanted Gold, the other Silver. Notwithstanding these facts, a "labor leader" in New York city appeared at a recent campaign standing, not upon the Republican capitalist party platform only, not upon the Free-Silver capitalist party platform only, but—ON BOTH; he performed the acrobatic feat of being simultaneously for Gold and against Silver, for Silver and against Gold. Who was that "labor leader"?—Mr. Samuel Gompers, "President of the American Federation of Labor."

Again: In Washington there is a son of a certain labor leader with a Government job. He is truly "non-partisan." Democrats may go and Republicans may come, Republicans may go and Democrats may come, but he goeth not; the Democratic and the Republican capitalists may fight like cats and dogs, but on one thing they fraternize like cooling doves, to wit, to keep that son of a labor leader in office. Who is the father of that son?—Mr. Samuel Gompers, "President of the A. F. of L."

Again: You have here a "labor leader," named Ross (Applause in several parts of the hall)—Unhappy men! Unhappy men! As well might you applaud the name of your executioner. When I was here about three years ago I met him. He was all aglow with the project of a bill that he was going to see through your Legislature, of which he was and is now a member. It was the anti-fines bill; that, thought he, was going to put an end to an infamous practice of the mill owners. I argued with him that it does not matter what the law is; the all important thing was, which is the class charged with enforcing it. So long as the capitalist class held the Government, all such labor laws as he was striving for, were a snare and a delusion. What I said seemed to be Greek to him. He went ahead and the bill passed. And what happened? You continued to be fined after, as before; and when one of you sought to enforce the law, he was not arrested and imprisoned? (Voices: "That's so.") And when another brought the lawbreaking mill owner, who continued to fine him, into court, did not the capitalist court decide in favor of the capitalist? (Voices: "That's so.") and thus virtually annulled the law? And where was Mr. Ross all this time? In the Massachusetts Legislature. Do you imagine that his ignorance of what a capitalist Government means, and of what its "labor laws" amount to, did not throw its shadow upon and color you in the capitalist's estimation? Do you, furthermore, imagine that his sitting there in that Legislature, a member of the majority party at that, and never once demanding the prompt impeachment of the Court that rendered null that very law that he had worked to pass—do you imagine that while he plays such a complaisant rôle he is a credit to the working class?

No need of further illustrations. The ignorance, stupidity and corruption of the "pure and simple" labor leaders is such that the capitalist class despises you. The first prerequisite for success in a struggle is the respect of the enemy. (Applause.)

The other main cause of the present impotence of "pure and simple" unionism is that, through its ignoring the existing class distinctions, and its ignoring the close connection there is between wages and politics, it splits up at the ballot box among the parties of capital, and thus unites in upholding the system of capitalist exploitation. Look at the recent miners' strike; the men are shot down and the strike was lost; this happened in the very midst of a

political campaign; and these miners, who could at any election capture the Government, or at least, by polling a big vote against capitalism, announce their advance towards freedom, are seen to turn right around and vote back into power the very class that had just trampled upon them. What prospect is there, in sight of such conduct, of the capitalists becoming gentler? or of the union gaining for the men any thing NOW except more wage reductions, enforced by bullets? None! The prospect of the miners and other workers doing the same thing over again, a prospect that is made all the surer if they allow themselves to be further led by the labor fakirs whom the capitalists keep in pay, renders sure that capitalist outrages will be repeated and further capitalist encroachments will follow. Otherwise were it if the union, identifying politics and wages, voted against capitalism; if it struck at the ballot box against the wage system with the same solidarity that it demands for the strike in the shop. Protected once a year by the guns of an increasing class-conscious party of labor, the union could be a valuable fortification behind which to conduct the daily class struggle in the shops. The increasing Socialist Labor party vote alone would not quite give that temporary protection in the shop that such an increasing vote would afford if, in the shop also, the workers are intelligently organized, and honestly, because intelligently, lead. Without organization in the shop, the capitalist could outrage at least individuals. Shop organization alone, unbacked by that political force that threatens the capitalist class being the overwhelming majority, leaves the workers wholly unprotected. But the shop organization that combines in its warfare the annually recurring class-conscious ballot, can stem capitalist encroachment from day to day. The trade organization is impotent if built and conducted upon the impotent lines of ignorance and corruption. The trade organization IS NOT impotent if built and conducted upon the lines of knowledge and honesty; if it understands the issue and steps into the arena fully equipped, not with the shield of the trade union only, but also with the sword of the Socialist ballot.

The essential principles of sound organization are, accordingly, these:

1st.—A trade organization must be clear upon the fact that, not until it has overthrown the capitalist system of private ownership in the machinery of production, and made this the joint property of the people, thereby compelling everyone to work if he wants to live, is it at all possible for the workers to be safe. (Applause.)

2d.—A labor organization must be perfectly clear upon the fact that it can not reach safety until it has wrenched the Government from the clutches of the capitalist class; and that it can not do that unless it votes, not for VOTES but for PRINCIPLE, unless it votes into power its own class platform and programme: THE ABOLITION OF THE WAGES SYSTEM OF SLAVERY.

3d.—A labor organization must be perfectly clear upon the fact that politics are not, like religion, a private concern, any more than the wages and the hours of a workman are his private concern. For the same reason that his wages and hours are the concern of his class, so is his politics (Applause). Politics is not separable from wages. For the same reason that the organization of labor dictates wages, hours, etc., in the interest of the working class, for that same reason must it dictate politics also; and for the same reason that it exorcises the scab in the shop, it must exorcise the scab at the hustings. (Applause.)

THE WORK OF THE SOCIALIST TRADE & LABOR ALLIANCE.

Long did the Socialist Labor party and New Trade Unionists seek to deliver this important message to the broad masses of the American proletariat, the rank and file of our working class. But we could not reach, we could not get at them. Between us and them there stood a solid wall of ignorant, stupid and corrupt labor fakirs. Like men groping in a dark room for an exit, we moved along that wall, bumping our heads, looking ever onwards for a door; we made the circuit and no passage was found. The wall was solid. This discovery once made, there was no way other than to batter a breach through that wall. With the battering ram of the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance we effected a passage; the wall now crumbles; at last we stand face to face with the rank and file of the American proletariat (Long and prolonged applause); and we ARE DELIVERING OUR MESSAGE (Renewed Applause)—as you may judge from the howl that goes up from that fakirs' wall that we have broken through.

I shall not consider my time well spent with you if I see no fruit of my labors; if I leave not behind me in New Bedford Local Alliances of your trades organized in the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance. That will be my best contribution toward your strike, as they will serve as centers of enlightenment to strengthen you in your conflict, to the extent that it may now be possible.

In conclusion, my best advice to you for immediate action, is to step out boldly upon streets, as soon as you can; organize a monster parade of the strikers and of all the other working people in the town; and let the parade be headed by a banner bearing the announcement:

"We will fight you in this strike to the bitter end; your money bag may beat us now; but whether it does or not, that is not the end, it is only the beginning of the song; in November we will meet you again at Philippi, and the strike shall not end until, with the falchion of the Socialist Labor party ballot we shall have laid you low for all time!" (Loud applause.)

This is the message that it has been my agreeable privilege to deliver to you in the name of the Socialist Labor party and of the New Trade Unionists or Alliance men of the land. (Prolonged applause.)

Attention, New York.

Branch 13 (Women), S. L. P., of Section New York, together with the "Women's Club for the Promotion of the Labor Press," has arranged a mass meeting in Grand Central Palace, Sunday, March 6, at 3 p. m., for the purpose of raising funds for the New Bedford strikers.

Come one, come all.

THE PEOPLE.

Published at 184 William Street, New York.
—EVERY SUNDAY—

TERMS TO SUBSCRIBERS

Invariably in advance:
One year.....\$1.00
Six months......50
Three months......25
Subscription Trial, one month..... 10

As far as possible, rejected communications will be returned if so desired and stamps are enclosed.

Entered as second-class matter at the New York, N. Y., Post office, on April 6th, 1891.



SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES.

In 1888 (Presidential)..... 2,088
In 1890..... 13,331
In 1892 (Presidential)..... 21,157
In 1894..... 33,133
In 1896 (Presidential)..... 36,664
In 1897..... 55,673

Death to the oppressors! Freedom to the slaves! Let's take from the lords, and give to the poor of the world!

What! A hundred barrels of wine in the cellar of the master, and for the exhausted slave only water from the river?

What! A hundred mantles in the press, and only rags for the groaning slave?

Who is it that planted the vine, gathered and pressed the grape? The slave. Who, then, has a right to drink the wine? The slave.

Who is it that sheared the sheep, spun the wool, wove the mantles? The slave.

Who, then should wear the mantle? The slave.

Up, ye poor and oppressed! Up! Rise! Lo, your good friends, the Vagres, approach!

Six men, united, are stronger than a hundred divided. Let's unite! Each for all, all for each! To the devil with the Franks! Hurrah for the Vagres and for old Gaul!

"Mysteries of the peoples."

Eugene Sue

MUSTARD PLASTER ON WOODEN LEGS.

The latest report from the New York State bureau, misnamed of "Labor," asserts that "all trades are over-stocked," which is certainly true, and that "workmen of forty-five years of age cannot easily get work and support themselves," which is equally true; and then it earns its spurs as a "Labor" publication by recommending the stoppage of immigration as a cure, or at least a relief!

If ever there was a case of applying a mustard plaster to a wooden leg, claiming it will raise a blister, the feat is performed by the "Labor" noodles whom the capitalist class carefully picked out to run that "Labor Bureau."

For every one man whom immigration increases the labor market by, the privately owned and improving machine increases the labor market by ten. Yet a hue and cry is raised against the former, while against the private ownership of the latter not a word is uttered by our economic quacks.

Of course not. Some pretence must be made of sympathy by the felon class of capitalists with the long denied, but now no longer deniable, suffering of the people. The anti-immigration form of sympathy is best suited to the purses of these gentlemen.

In the first place, even if anti-immigration laws are passed, they would not be enforced if they really would relieve the labor market. The Powderlys and other precious laborites whom the capitalists appoint to carry out the labor laws, need but a tip to shut their eyes, and let in all the immigrants that the capitalist needs, if he need any.

In the second place, anti-immigration agitation is wonderfully calculated to conceal the real sore. To tip the left side of the hat of the wayfarer, whose right-hand pocket the pickpocket has made up his mind to make a descent upon, and in which he is at work, is a piece of tactics well known among footpads, and quite clever withal. The trick requires a pal. The pal of the capitalist in this case is his appointees to the "Labor Bureau." The latter tips the hat of the working class by crying "anti-immigration," and if he succeeds in drawing the working class' attention in that direction, the capitalist can riot all the more freely and safely in the private possession of the machinery of production, whose rapid improvement and continued private or capitalist ownership is the real cause of the "overstocking of all trades," and of the squeezed-out-lemon condition in which workmen, not older than forty-five years, find themselves.

Fortunately the swindle is being found out more and more.

A thrill of joy went through several layers of the American capitalist class at the news of the Maine explosion in the harbor of Havana. Visions of war, which the De Lome incident had raised, but which its quick settlement had laid, re-rose; and these visions of war opened wide vistas for some wholesale money-making.

Manufacturers of guns, powder and all implements of war; of clothing, shoes, hats and all that soldiers need to wear; speculators in food and all that soldiers need to eat; together with a whole bevy of other carrion crows that capitalism breeds and is held up by,—all are on the tenterhooks of expectation, and with palpitating hearts are awaiting the declaration of war.

In the meantime, and as a good way to incite a popular war fever, all these worthies are declaiming, in horror-stricken accents, over the deaths of and the sufferings of the men who went under or were wounded,—all of which serves the additional purpose of drawing attention away from, and making people forget the many more working-men, women and children whom the combined capitalist class daily slaughters in the mines, shops and along the railroads of the land.

Patriotic, pious capitalists!

It will be noticed from the report of the G. E. B. of the S. T. & L. A., elsewhere in this issue, that it has been found necessary to no longer use wrappers bearing the stamp of the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance. A large number of letters, so wrapped, have miscarried. The frequency of the occurrence, and other circumstances point to the theory that the Alliance mail is tampered with at several post-offices.

POLITICAL and ECONOMIC.

Cause and effect are rarely better illustrated than by the following series of newspaper clippings.

P. J. McGuire, one of the "Vice-Presidents" of the so-called "A. F. of L." and leading labor fakir of the carpenters, was commissioned by his likes to go to New Bedford and hold forth there; and he was announced to speak on Wednesday, the 16th instant. Thereupon the following passages occurred in the local and neighboring press:

First, the New Bedford "Evening Standard" of the 15th had this:

"MAGUIRE CHALLENGED NOW.

"Socialist Labor Party Prepared to Discuss Principles with him."

"The Socialist Labor party has issued another challenge. The following is self-explanatory:

"It being understood through the press that P. J. McGuire is to speak in this city Wednesday evening, and that he will at that time endeavor to show that the claims of the Socialist Labor party are untrue, we hereby, in the name of the Socialist Labor party, section New Bedford, challenge the said P. J. McGuire to an open debate upon the question he advocates and the principles advocated by the Socialist Labor party.

"On behalf of the S. L. P., Section N. B.

"JAMES T. HANCOCK,

"Organizer.

"ARTHUR J. HALEY,

"Treasurer.

"THOS. J. CASHMAN,

"Chairman of Com."

Next, the Boston "Herald" (morning)

of the next day, the 16th, had this:

"The local Socialists are still on the warpath, and propose to open an assault of argument on P. J. McGuire, the very man whom the Federation folks had selected to undo De Leon's work of last week."

Next, the New Bedford "Evening Standard" of that day had this:

"P. J. McGuire, it is now stated, will not be able to speak in this city this week."

McGuire did not turn up; for all we know, he stuck fast in the saloon of the Anarchist Justus Schwab, in this city.

AD POL and ECONOMIC

The Johnstown, R. I., "Beacon"

records the correct observation that:

"Socialism, far from being the 'bogeyman' of a few years ago, is rapidly making itself at home among the masses in this country. The fact that 'practical' gentlemen, in and out of office, occasionally find it profitable to masquerade under Socialist colors is quite indicative of this. But Socialist training makes the penetration of such disguise an easy matter. The strong light of Socialist truth scatters political vice and corruption like chaff before a northeast wind."

This' from the New Bedford, Mass.

"Mercury" supplies a link to an interesting episode:

"GOMPERS SHOWN UP.

"Pittsburg Labor Leader Accuses Him of Cowardice.

"The following letter from M. P. Carrick, of Pittsburg, fifth national vice-president of the National Building Trades' Council of America, has been received at 'The Mercury' office:

"To The Editor:—I am in receipt of a marked copy of your paper of February 10, 1898, also a letter from a friend calling my attention to an address delivered by Mr. Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor at New Bedford, Mass., on February 9; Mr. Gompers in his address stated when challenged by the Socialists to a debate 'that he was compelled to catch a train as he had to be in Pittsburg on the evening of the 10th to address a meeting.'

"For the benefit of the workers of New Bedford and at the request of several others, I desire to state that Mr. Gompers did not address a meeting in Pittsburg, that he was not billed to address any meeting, that the central bodies here had no knowledge of his coming. All that was known of Mr. Gompers' presence in Pittsburg was an interview in the Pittsburg "Evening Press," where he (Gompers) states 'He had just come from the centre of the cotton workers' strike, was in the thick of the fight for over a week, tendered financial aid, and the fight was won, etc.'

"Mr. Gompers stayed here a few hours and departed, as the workers here have no use for him. Mr. Gompers should not have said to the workers of New Bedford he had to be in Pittsburg; he did it to escape the vengeance of the Socialists.

"I am no Socialist, but believe people like Gompers who talk about the thick of the fight and the financial aid they give with their mouths, are more injury to labor's cause than a million Socialists, and the sooner the working masses get rid of the plug hat labor aristocracy, with their big salaries and their dirty records, the better for the emancipation of the men and women who toil.

"Hoping this will satisfy the gentlemen who have written and that Mr. Gompers will be shown up in his true record. Respectfully yours,

"M. P. CARRICK.

"Delegate to Labor League and Building Trades Council."

GERMANY.

(Continued.)

In the previous three years Marx had matured all his plans and made every possible preparation for the final organization of that international movement of the proletariat which he had already attempted to set on foot in 1847, when he joined the Communist League at Brussels, and with Frederick Engels was delegated by that body to write the "Communist Manifesto." Upon the identical lines of this celebrated document Marx wrote the brief preamble to the rules of the International Association, setting forth its "raison d'être" as follows:

"Considering:—That the emancipation of the working class must be achieved by the working class itself, and therefore involves a class struggle, which on the side of the workers is not for class privileges and monopolies, but for equal rights and duties and the abolition of all class rule;

"That the economic subjection of the man of labor to the monopolizer of the instruments of labor, the sources of life, lies at the root of social misery, mental degradation, political dependence and servitude in every form;

"That the economic emancipation of the working class is therefore the great end to which every political movement must be subordinated as a means;

"That all efforts aiming at that great end have hitherto failed from the want of solidarity between the manifold divisions of labor in each country, and from the absence of a fraternal bond of union between the working classes of different countries;

"That the emancipation of labor is neither a local nor a national, but a social problem, involving all countries in which the modern state of society exists, and depending for its solution on the practical and theoretical co-operation of the most advanced countries;

"That the present reawakening of the working classes in the most industrial countries of Europe, while it raises new hopes, gives solemn warning against a relapse into old errors and calls for a close connection of the now separate movements;

"For these reasons the International Workers' Association has been founded. All its members shall recognize that Truth, Morality, Justice, must be the basis of their conduct towards each other and towards all men, regardless of color, creed or nationality. They shall regard it the duty of a man to demand the rights of a man and a citizen, not only for himself, but for every one who does his duty. No rights without duties; no duties without rights."

Although theoretically resting on the same economic principles and having the same end in view, the Lassallian movement and the Marxist diverged materially in tactics. In the first place the former was purely national, the latter was essentially international. Of course, a national organization was also required and contemplated by the Marxists, and on the other hand the Lassallians had no thought of assigning any geographical limits to the development of Socialism, but the two processes of organization were practically the reverse of each other, and for reasons now sufficiently obvious the Marxist was the more scientific. Again, the followers of Marx had been taught to expect nothing, absolutely nothing, but from the complete triumph of the proletariat, through which the Social Revolution would at the proper time, and then at once, be achieved. Capitalism abolished and Socialism instituted; whereas Lassalle had believed, or at any rate professed, that a social transformation could be brought about by degrees, more or less slowly, more or less rapidly, according as the class-conscious proletariat would be able to assert itself as a political force in the direction of public affairs. The Marxist view implied an uncompromising attitude under all circumstances, whereas the Lassallian, ever so aggressive in principle and so unyielding as to the final aim, left room for temporary compromises, that might prove dangerous to the integrity of the movement. Lassalle himself had applied to the feudal government of Prussia for a loan of one hundred million thalers (\$60,000,000), the interest upon which was to be set aside for the gradual extension of the scheme to all industries, including, last of all, agriculture. According to his own computation it would have taken two centuries to thus achieve peacefully the economic emancipation of the laboring class. Of his now well-known interviews with Bismarck—at the latter's request—concerning his plans, we need not speak here at length. Such intercourse might have proved harmless so long as the party to it on the side of the proletariat was a man of Lassalle's intellectual and moral standing, enjoying the confidence of the people that he had himself aroused and organized, and sheltered from suspicion by the established purity of his intentions and the conceded nobility of his ambition. In some at least of these respects no man could take his place. Of the overbearing, jealous and inebriate Bernhard Becker, who succeeded him for a year as president of the Society, it has been justly said that he was "the ass in the lion's skin." C. W. Tolke, who took the place of Becker in December, 1865, raised a storm of indignation among the Socialists by publicly disclosing his monarchic sympathies, and was compelled to resign after a few months of unsuccessful management. By this time the Lassallian leaders were generally suspected of political dealings repugnant to the spirit of the movement. Indeed, very soon after the death of Lassalle there was already a strong basis of fact for such suspicions. In his last days arrangements had been made for the publication of an organ of the Society, entitled "The Social Democrat," with Dr. J. B. von Schweitzer as its editor. The paper appeared on January 1, 1865. In its first issue Marx, Engels and Liebknecht were announced as contributors. But when in February of the same year Schweitzer published a leading article endorsing the policy of the Bismarck ministry and professing a narrow Prussian jingoism, the three Internationalists withdrew their names by a public declaration. From that time—and, as we shall see, for a number of years—the movement was divided; but as Internationalism appealed strongly to Socialism, many Lassallians, one by one, two by two, entered the ranks of the International, whose propaganda was conducted with great energy by Liebknecht, Vahlteich and other fearless, uncompromising agitators.

At that time a large number of the democratic political clubs originally instituted by the Progressists had seceded from their retrogressive progenitors and formed a "People's Party," whose chief strength was in Saxony and Southern Germany. The numerous workmen's educational societies similarly fathered had likewise struck out independently and formed a federation, the national committee of which had its seat in Leipzig. Of this national committee August Bebel was a member. He was also the leader of the Leipzig organization of the People's Party. Liebknecht, who resided in the same town, and who, for the purpose of advancing his views, had become a member of the local educational society, succeeded in converting Bebel to International Socialism. Both together then converted the other members of the national committee; so that in a short time the whole organization was permeated with Socialist ideas.

In the meanwhile important political events had taken place. The battle of Sadowa had been fought, Austria lay prostrate at the feet of Prussia, and a North German Confederation had been formed, comprising all the German States north of the Main, which were to be represented according to population, in a Reichstag (or parliament) elected by universal suffrage. The first Reichstag was to be a constituent assembly of short duration, and elections for this body had to be held in the beginning of 1867. All this was the work of Bismarck, who, in granting universal suffrage, hoped to get the support of the working class against the Progressists. It has been alleged that he had an understanding with Schweitzer, and that the latter actually pledged to the government the support of the German Workmen's Society. At any rate, when election day came, Bismarck stood as the government candidate in Barmen-Elberfeld against Schweitzer and a Progressist. A second ballot became necessary between Bismarck and the Progressist, and Schweitzer's vote was transferred to Bismarck, electing him. Thereafter the suspicion clung to Schweitzer that he was an agent of the government, and although a few months later he was sufficiently popular in the German Workmen's Society to be made its president, he was finally expelled from it in 1872.

At the election for the constituent assembly August Bebel was the only Socialist elected. He was running as the nominee of the Saxon People's Party in the Glauchau-Meerane district of Saxony. But a few months later, when elections were held for the first regular North German Reichstag, seven Socialists were returned. Three of them, Bebel, Liebknecht and Schrappe, were nominees of the Saxon People's party; two, including Schweitzer, belonged to the Lassallian faction, which had selected him as its president, and two belonged to another Lassallian faction, which had seceded from the German Workmen's Society, and under the lead of an old friend of Lassalle's, Countess Hatzfeld, had formed an independent organization. The total vote cast for those various candidates was about 20,000.

The two campaigns of 1867 and the activity of the Socialist deputies within and without the Reichstag greatly strengthened the movement. In the Federation of Educational Societies the Socialist element had become so strong that its central committee, led by Bebel and Liebknecht, submitted to the General Assembly of that body, held in Nuremberg in September, 1868, a proposition to endorse the platform of the International. At this convention all the factions of the labor movement were represented. There were the Schultze-Delitzsch men, constituting the purely political wing of the People's party (of which the present People's party is the continuation); the Marxist wing of that party (Bebel-Liebknecht), and a small number of Lassallians. After a prolonged and heated discussion the International programme was endorsed by a large majority. The Schultze-Delitzsch minority withdrew, leaving in the hands of the most radical Socialist leaders the organization which they had created for the express purpose of keeping the workmen out of Socialism. The Federation of Educational Societies had now practically become a branch of the International.

While thus at work capturing an entire organization, the Marxists did not relax their efforts to bring the Lassallians over to their views. Unity of action, provided it could be secured upon a basis of sound principle and honest tactics, was as much desired by them as it was desirable for the cause. They hoped to break down the pernicious influence of Schweitzer and then to effect an amalgamation. In March, 1869, Bebel and Liebknecht appeared before the convention of the German Workmen's Society, in session at Barmen. They argued that in giving itself a president this organization had disregarded a fundamental principle of Socialism, and that in vesting him with dictatorial powers it had exposed itself to the danger of corruption. Then they directly accused Schweitzer of being an agent of the government, and of having, as such, fostered in the organization over which he ruled by cunning and intrigue, a narrow spirit of Prussian patriotism, contrary to the nature of a true labor movement. Notwithstanding the vigor of their attack and the eloquence of their appeal, the convention expressed its confidence in Schweitzer's integrity and good management by a vote of 42 out of 56, fourteen delegates abstaining.

Nothing daunted, the Marxists called a congress, to which the Lassallians were invited, in order to settle differences and consolidate the Socialist forces into a party capable of presenting an undivided front to the enemy. This congress was held at Eisenach from the 7th to the 9th of August, 1869. It was attended by 263 delegates, representing about 300 associations with a total membership of 155,486 constituents, distributed over 195 localities in Germany, Austria and Switzerland. No agreement, however, could be reached with the Lassallians, who came in great numbers, but in no spirit of concilia-

tion. The Internationalists, therefore, constituted themselves into a party, called the "Social-Democratic Labor party," upon a platform divided into two parts, namely: 1—A declaration of principles, which was substantially and almost literally the same as that of the International Association; 2—A programme of demands, including universal suffrage, equal, direct and secret; the referendum and initiative principle of legislation; the abolition of all privileges attached to rank, property, birth and creed; the substitution of the armed nation for the permanent army; separation of church and state; compulsory and secular education; free justice, trial by jury, and reform of the courts with view to their independence; liberty of the press; freedom of association and combination; the normal work day; limitation of the women's and prohibition of the children's labor; abolition of all indirect taxation, and the raising of all revenue by a progressive income tax and a tax on inheritance. With a view, no doubt, to the ultimate conciliation of the Lassallians, a demand was added for "government support of benefit societies, and public credit for free co-operative associations with democratic guarantees."

While it lasted, the Franco-German war (which broke out in the summer of 1870, by the drafts it made upon the wage-working population, checked the movement in that visible part of it which consisted in actual party membership, but rather quickened and intensified it otherwise by the terrible truths thus vividly brought home to the thoughtless minds. Shortly after the battle of Sedan—at which the French Emperor, held responsible for the conflict, was compelled to surrender his person and his army—the Executive Committee of the Social-Democratic (Eisenach) party were arrested and imprisoned for having issued a manifesto to the German workmen, protesting against the continuance of the war. The same position was taken in the Reichstag by Bebel and Liebknecht, who voted against any further appropriations; in consequence of which they and Heppner, in December, 1870, were also arrested on a charge of treason.

Immediately after the war, the newly established German Empire had to be put in working order by the election of an Imperial Parliament. The public sentiment was then stimulated to a high degree of patriotic enthusiasm and loyalty, and the government had no doubt that its persecution of the leading Internationalists would be universally approved, even by those who had previously sided with them at the ballot box. In other words, it fondly believed that Socialism had been killed by the "unpatriotic behavior" of its chief mouth pieces. The Social-Democrats, however, sorely disappointed the government and greatly astonished the country by casting 101,927 votes for their candidates, or three times as many as they had cast before the war. This piece of proletarian impudence, coming so closely upon the heels of "national glory," in violation of all historic precedents, was well nigh intolerable, and Bismarck's police was reminded of its duty. The police worked hard; it had all the work it could do suppressing meetings, escorting agitators to jail or out of town, and otherwise making itself and the government as odious as possible to the working people; so that, when the Social Democrats, three years later, cast 351,670 votes—about three and a half times their previous number—the astonishment of the country, of Europe, of the world, and especially of the German government, increased in geometric ratio. It looked as if the German workmen, with the same firmness they had shown as dutiful soldiers, in accomplishing the political unity of the Fatherland against the French Emperor, had now set themselves to the task of accomplishing, as class-conscious men, their own emancipation from domestic tyrants.

New means of persecution were resorted to in various parts of the Empire, Bismarck giving the example of energetic action under the cover of the law when possible, and by prompting the police in its assumptions of arbitrary powers when perchance legal tomfoolery was so deficient that it did not afford a "better" method. In Prussia, availing itself of a statute enacted in 1850, when the reaction had triumphed over the revolutionary movement of 1848, the royal government dissolved the Lassallian organization, which however, managed to survive its official death. The Marxists, of course, were not treated with greater consideration, and every occasion was improved to harass their agitators and hinder their propaganda. From their press, however, both factions derived great strength, and it soon became known that the imperial government intended not only to muzzle it, but to destroy it, by demanding from the Reichstag a special provision against it in the proposed Imperial penal code, that was to be uniformly enforced throughout the Empire.

The effect of this vigorous "blood and iron policy" was quite unexpected. It united the Lassallians and the Marxists.

This union was effected at a congress, called by mutual agreement, which was held at Gotha from the 22d to the 27th of May, 1875, with an attendance of 125 delegates representing 25,659 fully qualified members. The Lassallians, tired of "presidents," readily agreed to a democratic organization of the party, with an executive board, subject in its management of affairs to the supervision of a Controlling Commission, and in its rulings to the decisions of a board of appeals. The hitherto separate organs of the two parties—namely, the "Social-Democrat" of Berlin, belonging to the Lassallians, and the "Volksstaat" of Leipzig, belonging to the Marxists—were amalgamated into one, which subsequently was entitled "Vorwärts."

In its mere wording the Gotha platform differed from the Eisenach programme just enough to satisfy men who, thinking exactly alike, desired to put an end to personal differences of long standing by "mutual concessions." In everything else the two documents were absolutely the same. There had no doubt been a time when the Lassallians earnestly upheld their founder's scheme of State help in the establishment of co-operative production. But, knowing that any belief in its practicability would gradually become weaker in the light of economic and political developments, the Marxists themselves had not considered it a bar to union; and, as we have already stated, they had conceded to that scheme a plank in the Eisenach programme among their demands for measures of relief. This "concession," which had then proved of no effect as a means of conciliation, was again made at Gotha; but in accepting it this time the Lassallians evidently valued it far more as a token of friendship than for the intrinsic worth of the plank itself, in which they believed no more. The fact is that upon this point and some others—chiefly of a tactical nature but involving a true comprehension of fundamental principles and a correct understanding of the class struggle—a change had been brought about in the views of the Lassallians (as Hugo Vogt rightly observes) "by the agitation of the International, and the publication, in 1867, of Karl Marx's 'Capital,' which was at once recognized by the Lassallians as well as by the Marxists as the fundamental work of modern Socialism."

A separate resolution was adopted at Gotha, recognizing that under the capitalist system trade unionism was a necessity imposed upon the workmen by the very nature of the class struggle, and declaring, therefore, that it was the duty of every wage worker to enter the union of his trade, with a view to combined resistance against degradation and combined action for improvement. This was of special importance; first, because of the efforts of the Progressists, through their agents in the economic organizations of labor, to keep these bodies on the very lines which we have here termed the lines of "pure-and-simplified"; and secondly, because the Lassallians had underestimated the value of such economic organizations, if imbued with a Socialist spirit. Hereafter every Socialist would stand guard, in the economic as well as in the political field.

In January, 1876, the penal code being under consideration in the Reichstag, Bismarck introduced his amendment relating to the press, and urged its passage. It provided severe punishment by fine and imprisonment for "any person who in a manner endangering the public peace incited different classes, of the population against one another or in like manner attacked the institutions of matrimony, family or property."

An overwhelming majority of the Reichstag, afraid to trust the Imperial government with the despotic power which it demanded with a verbal promise to use it only against the Socialists, but which it might also have used against other parties, declared itself against this scheme by vote and argument, on the ground that it would endanger the freedom of the entire press and that the penal code of the Empire contained sufficient provisions for the prevention or punishment of actual offenses.

Bismarck's disappointment was bitter. He had hoped that the Progressists, whose supporters among the proletariat were being steadily reduced in number by the inroads of Socialism, might be induced to cut their own throats by voting for this amendment. But, aware of the punishment with which they might be visited at the polls by that large portion of their constituencies which was still composed of wage workers if they fell into this Bismarckian trap—a punishment far greater to them than that which any law they might help to pass could inflict upon the Socialists—they took the lofty ground that a free press corrected its own abuses. Even the Centrists had apparently learned enough of the expanding properties of Socialism under pressure to deny the value of punishment as a remedy to that great and peculiar evil.

Temporarily relieved of their worst apprehensions—although subject to a constantly increasing espionage and ill treatment against which they had no other redress than the light which their organs could cast upon the villainous proceedings of the authorities—the Social-Democrats, now thoroughly united, resumed agitation with tenfold energy. From 1875 to 1877 they increased the number of their papers from 11 to 41, of which 13 were issued daily, 13 semi-weekly, 12 weekly and 3 twice a month. There were besides 14 trade-union papers with outspoken Socialist tendencies.

But while the defeat of Bismarck in the Reichstag made their papers and agitation comparatively safe outside of Prussia, the Socialists remained exposed on Prussian territory to the provisions of the above mentioned law of 1850, which Bismarck was now determined to enforce against them with the utmost rigor. In March, 1876, an order was made by a Berlin court, declaring the Social-Democratic party unlawful, and prohibiting it within the boundaries of Prussia. The immediate result of this order was that the next Socialist Congress could not be held as a congress of the "party"; in order to enable the Prussian Socialists to send delegates, a "general congress of Socialists" was called. This body met at Gotha in August, 1876, and reconstructed the organization of the party by formally severing all connections between the local organizations and the central committee. But it was understood that in each locality only one member (a trusted one, who would be, in fact, though not in name, the representative of his local organization) would be in communication with the central committee, and that the old relations would thus be substantially kept up. For the purpose of collecting in Prussia monies for the central fund, a monthly leaflet, called "The Elector," was issued and sold at a price equivalent to the amount elsewhere paid as party dues. Thus did the Socialists meet and defeat Bismarck on his selected ground of legal chicanery.

A few months later—January, 1877—they met him at the polls and defeated him in still grander style. They cast 486,843 votes; an increase of 135,792 since 1874. In Berlin, the capital of the Empire, the heart of Prussia, and the center of persecution, their vote was tripled, rising from 11,500 in 1874 to 31,494 in 1877. The party carried 12 seats, two of them in Berlin.

(To be Continued.)

* At this election, despite the great increase of the Socialist vote, and owing to peculiar circumstances chiefly arising from the formation of the new electoral districts, Bebel was the only Socialist elected. The Lassallian wing returning none of its candidates. But in 1874, nine deputies were elected, namely, 3 of the Lassallian and 6 of the Eisenach wing. It may here be observed that the two factions, though carrying on a very bitter fight against each other, did not allow their hostilities to interfere with their agitation; on the contrary, their antagonism acted rather as a stimulus, spurring on each faction to its utmost exertions.

FOR THE 100,000.

Address to Trade and Labor Unions of Illinois by State Committee of the Socialist Labor Party.

To the Trade and Labor Unions of Illinois, Greeting:—

The Illinois State Committee of the Socialist Labor party sends fraternal greetings, and desires to call your attention to the condition of the working class, also to discuss with you the means whereby this class may lift itself from its present miserable and precarious condition into that one which by right belongs to it.

That the condition of the working class taken as a whole is steadily growing worse, no intelligent and observant man will deny; that this should be so despite the admirable energy and abnegation displayed by the workers in organizing themselves in the face of a hostile employing class, is well calculated to cause reflection in the man having the interests of his class at heart. We have just seen the Miners' Union defeated, after a prolonged fight, in which the men displayed qualities of solidarity, courage and self-denial which stamp them heroes. All this grand energy and grim determination were, we might say, wasted, or worse yet, for after the struggle the mine owners are more powerful than ever, and the mine workers heart-sore, wearied and poverty stricken, are more than ever at their mercy.

Now, how is it possible for men animated with the magnificent spirit displayed by the miners to be so signally defeated? Might it not be that the tactics employed by their union—in common with all other unions—are lacking in some essential? Surely, yes, for the record of the last few years is one of continued defeat. The Socialist Labor party holds that the most fruitful and grandest victories will perch on the standard of the working class as soon as the working class, abandoning the tactics which met with a certain measure of apparent success when capitalism was in its infancy, shall make use of correct tactics—of tactics in harmony with the economic conditions of the day. As well might our ancestors, with their bows and arrows, attack our regulars of to-day with their repeating rifles, as for organized labor to attack capitalism in 1897 with the arms of 1830.

To those who observe things closely it is glaringly apparent that the whole power of government is arrayed on the side of the capitalist class. The capitalist class may most eloquently proclaim the contrary; the facts are there to give them the lie. Why is this? The Socialist Labor party says because the working class does not make a proper use of that most effective weapon, the ballot. To-day the capitalist class is supreme, and it brooks no opposition to this supremacy, which is built on the ballots of the working class. The workers outnumber the capitalists ten to one. Why should they vote into political power the class whose economic power their unions are organized to fight? Let the workers unite politically as they unite economically, and for them the world defeat will have lost its meaning. But when they enter the political arena they must be fully alive to the fact that just as in the economic field, it is the working class against the capitalist class—in a word, that it is a class fight all along the line.

Follow workingmen, we appeal to you in the name of the sacred cause of Labor to take note of this communication, and to discuss with us the point: "CAN THE WORKING CLASS BETTER ITS ECONOMIC CONDITIONS WITHOUT BEING POLITICALLY ORGANIZED?"

From discussion comes light, and if ever light was needed it is now.

With fraternal greetings,
THE ILLINOIS STATE COMMITTEE,
SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY.

THE TWO CLASSES.

Which they Are, and What they Imply.

Is our present society divided into antagonistic classes? It is self-evident from the fact that there are capitalists and workmen who are in constant struggle with each other. This fact is so clear that no man with common sense can deny it, and he who says that these classes only exist in the imagination of the Socialist simply demonstrates his ignorance of the conditions prevailing under his very nose.

It is beyond the power of man to create antagonistic classes. They are the result of certain material conditions existing in every stage of human development. And it is by no means man who controls these material conditions. Just the opposite. It is the condition and environment of men that control their actions and mould their lives. Socialists, therefore, say that classes DO exist as the result of the material conditions prevailing at present. Classes were in existence during all the time that private ownership of the tool of production existed. Classes exist to-day as the result of our economic foundation, which is private ownership in the means of production and exchange. This is a living fact. But as many people are too near sighted to see what is going on before their very eyes, it is necessary for the Socialists TO POINT this out to them.

The development of the present mode of production, which gave birth to modern society, has not done away with classes. By creating new conditions and environments it only changed that form of the class struggle under which it existed in the stage of Feudalism.

The bulk of the working class does not as yet know that it is a class with interests diametrically opposed to the interests of the capitalists. In the present, as in the past, the enslaved class does not become class-conscious until the society in which it, as a class, was born reaches the highest stage of development. Then only does the enslaved class become conscious of its existence as a class, and also of its place in history.

It is a capitalist society the living in. Capitalist laws, morals, capitalist manne conception of what is just and unjust, good

—everything in our modern society is tinged with capitalism. The workingmen, so long as they are unconscious of their class, adopt these laws, morals, manners, customs, etc., as their own. It is only when the bulk of the population is embraced in the class of workmen—that they begin to look upon themselves as members of a different society—the working class—with laws, manners, customs, morals, principles, etc., which are different from those of the old society—capitalism.

Thus we have at present two different societies with different institutions, laws, manners, etc., the result of certain material conditions surrounding these societies. One is that of capitalism, in which we lived for the last generations, and which has now outlived its usefulness. The other is that of Socialism, which is rapidly replacing the former as the result of the bitter conflict between the small band representing old society—the capitalists, and the new army of class-conscious workers, representing the new society—Socialism.

The Socialists form the vanguard of the fighting battalions of the working class. They are conscious men, and by understanding the situation they are masters of it. Therefore they teach their fellow men the truths of the situation.

And Socialism is inevitable. Why? Because of the class struggle. The capitalists are trying to protect their material interests by upholding the old system of capitalism. But as soon as the workingmen become conscious of what their true interests are, they revolt against the old social order and establish that which will be for their interest to establish, and that is the Co-operative Commonwealth.

Socialists do not ignore the class struggle. It is here. We must recognize it if we seek the truth. And IT ONLY will be the means of enlightening the workers so as to emancipate themselves from political oppression and industrial slavery.

WILLIAM EDLIN.

CORRESPONDENCE.

Adulteration of Cigars.

TO THE PEOPLE—As THE PEOPLE often contains articles relating to the adulteration of food, etc., I take the pleasure of sending an item which has not as yet been published in any paper to my knowledge, and which should be published above all others.

This article should or might be called "Adulteration of Cigars."

It seems that owing to the high price of Sumatra tobacco wrappers, which ranges from \$3.50 to \$5 a pound, the manufacturers got to use domestic instead, the best of which only costs from 60 to 80 cents a pound, making quite a difference in their bank accounts, and thereby trying to defraud the smokers by selling for Sumatra what is not.

The Sumatra contains peculiar spots which the domestic wrapper has not got, and which is the only means of detecting the difference. The smokers soon found this out, and they began to demand "spotted cigars."

In speaking of these spots I will say that they are perfectly natural, being made by insects. These insects are very numerous in the country where the Sumatra grows; according to natural history, these insects rest on the leaves and draw the substance from them, thereby causing the spots. Now then, as the demand for spotted cigars became so great and the price of Sumatra so high, the manufacturers began to think how they could imitate these spots. After long experimenting, they have discovered different kinds of spotting material, and are still looking for more. This spotting fluid is of a very poisonous and injurious nature, being composed of acids; one drop of it will cause a painful burning sensation on one's hand. So it must certainly be injurious to the mouth of the one who smokes such cigars.

Now, the manufacturers are spotting their cigars with poison, using domestic wrappers, and the whole imitation is completed; and the smokers will have to suffer the consequences.

Being a cigarmaker myself, I find it my duty to have such dangerous swindling made public for the benefit of all who smoke cigars.

I will also give you the names of two of the manufacturers who are making this poisonous fluid, and have a great demand for it. They are as follows: John H. Howell, cigar manufacturer, 5 Richard Court, Rochester, N. Y., and A. N. Wetzel, 124 New York avenue, Brooklyn, N. Y. C. C. C.

Cohoes, N. Y., Feb. 20.

Examples in Arithmetic.

TO THE PEOPLE.—1.—If A's (Mr. Rockefeller's) annual income is twelve million dollars, and he gives annually three millions to educational institutions, how much has he left?

2.—If the Standard Oil Company earned \$100,000,000 in dividends in five years and nine months, how long will it take to earn \$1,000,000,000?

3.—If street railway companies can annually earn from 12 to 18 per cent. on their watered stock, what percentage can a municipality earn on the actual cost value of the roads?

4.—A, B, C, D, E, F and G have each one hundred dollars. Suppose G, by the aid of class legislation and corruption and interest, can annually take twenty dollars from each one, i. e., A, B, C, D, E and F, how many years will it take G to acquire the entire wealth of all?

5.—Suppose organized labor loses in thirteen and one-half years (according to Carroll D. Wright's report) \$190,493,000 in wage loss through strikes and lockouts, and expends \$13,438,000 to assist their fellow strikers, how will it take for organized labor the futility of the strike?

ROBERT E

New York, Feb. 17.

Sections of the Pamphlet appendix, Socialising the

We would like to see every reader use a DIAMOND POINT GOLD FOUNTAIN PEN Without expense!

DIAMOND POINT

We will send it free to anyone sending us three yearly subscriptions at one dollar each. Will you take advantage of this unprecedented offer? Get a new yearly subscriber this, next and the following week, then send us \$3.00 and the pen is yours. Address all letters and money orders to THE PEOPLE, 184 William street, New York City.

PARTY NEWS.

Activity of Militant Socialists East, West North and South.

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY.
NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE—Secretary Henry Kuhn, 184 William street, N. Y.
NATIONAL BOARD OF APPEALS—Secretary Robert Handlow, 193 Champlain st., Cleveland, O.

General Agitation Fund.
Previously acknowledged, \$365.18
Proceeds of "Peter Weber's Party," Utica, N. Y., 1.00
On list No. 5, per Section Blair County, Pa., 2.55

Total, \$370.03
HENRY KUHN, Secy.
P. S.—Lists for the General Agitation Fund can be procured from the secretary, Henry Kuhn, 184 William street, New York City.

Alabama.
BIRMINGHAM, Ala., Feb. 29.—On the evening of February 10th, Comrade B. E. Reinhard arrived in this city. He immediately addressed a large crowd of workmen, at the corner of Nineteenth street and Second avenue, arousing an intense interest which resulted in an increased attendance the following evening.

Closing the open-air meetings Saturday night with an announcement of a meeting to be held Sunday afternoon, at 2:30, at Bricklayers' Hall, 212 North Twentieth street. The meeting was well attended. Fakirs and spies were in evidence, but were promptly subdued. Comrade Reinhard addressed the audience, explaining the organization, and took for his subject: "Why Socialist Officials Will not Betray their Constituents."

At the conclusion he invited those who desired to enlist themselves in the ranks of the S. L. P. to come forward to sign the application for a charter; 19 members were enrolled. Comrade Reinhard called the newly organized section to order. Comrade H. R. Engel was nominated and unanimously elected chairman by acclamation.

The following officers were elected: Organizer, C. L. Engel; Recording and Corresponding Secretary, Geo. Lasker; Financial Secretary, C. E. Elliott; Treasurer, D. Varoulo; Literary Agent, H. R. Engel.

Thanks to the National Executive Committee for sending to us so able a young Socialist as Comrade Reinhard, to whom we are indebted for the organization of Section Birmingham.

GEO. LASKER.

Canada.

LONDON, Ont., Feb. 22.—Canada's natal day Socialists nominate Comrade Ashplant, city of London, to Ontario Legislative Assembly; first in dominion of Canada.

New York.

Section Greater N. Y.—At its last session Julius Dolinski was suspended for one year.

The result of three referendum votes in the Section were announced.

1st.—The general vote on a motion to withdraw the delegates of the Section from D. A. No. 1, S. T. & L. A. The motion was defeated; 702 votes were cast. In its favor 235 and 467 against.

2d.—The general vote on a motion to suspend Branch Northfield for refusing to live up to the rules of the Section. The motion was carried; 536 votes were cast for it, 191 against.

The tabulated returns on these two votes will be published in the next issue.

3d.—The general vote on a motion to expell Gillis. The motion was carried by 413 against 9.

Free lectures by James Allman to be held at Bohemian National Hall, 321-325 E. 73d street, beginning at 8 o'clock p. m.

Mar. 1—"The Co-operative Commonwealth."

Socialist Labor Party, 18th Assembly District of Greater New York. Sunday evening lectures, free to everybody, at Stuyvesant Hall, 251 East 17th street, near 1st avenue, New York City.

Business meeting every Thursday, 8 p. m., at 246 1st avenue, between 14th and 15th streets. Come and join. Programme of lectures for February, 1898:

Feb. 27—"Conflicting Social Dynamics." Lecturer, James Allman. Lectures commence promptly at 8 p. m.

New York Socialist Literary Society. Sunday afternoon lectures and discussions on political, social and economic questions, at the Club Rooms, 100 Clinton street, New York City. Free to everybody.

Programme of lectures for February, 1898:

Feb. 27—"The Origin of Government." Lecturer, N. I. Stone. J. REICH, Lecture Agent.

Young Men's Socialist Educational Club, 16th Assembly District, S. L. P. lectures to the people at the Club Rooms, 8 Avenue C. Popular course lay. Programme for February:

Proletariat." A. S.

Wednesday.

of Socialism."

Society."

Brooklyn Lectures and Discussions on Political, Social and Economic Questions, every Sunday evening, Wurzel's Hall, 315 Washington street.

FEBRUARY PROGRAMME:
Sunday, Feb. 27—"The Situation in China—and Elsewhere." Charles H. Matchett.

All lectures begin at 8 p. m., and occupy about 45 minutes. We invite discussion after each lecture, limiting debaters to six minutes. At 9:45 the discussion will be ended by the closing remarks of the speaker.

SIXTEENTH WARD, BRANCH 3.
S. L. P., BROOKLYN.—A meeting of the above branch will be held on Wednesday, March 2nd, at 7:30 P. M., at Comrade Adolph Benevise's house, 151 Seigel street. All members should attend the meeting, as we have very important business on hand.

YONKERS, Feb. 7.—Section Yonkers has secured a fine large room for permanent headquarters at 36 North Broadway, Yonkers. Regular meetings every Tuesday evening and lectures every Thursday. The lectures are held at Steadman's Hall, 14 Getty Square, as follows:

March 3—"The Co-operative Commonwealth." The lecturer is Comrade James Allman, and so far the lectures have been well attended and very instructive.

Ohio.

STATE COMMITTEE OF OHIO, S. L. P.

CLEVELAND, Feb. 16, 1898. To all Sections S. L. P. of Ohio, greeting! At a meeting of the State Committee held last Monday, it was decided to propose to the Sections to hold the State Convention this year on Decoration Day, May 30th, either at Zanesville, or Columbus. Sections will please vote upon this proposition and advise me of the result before March 26th.

Fraternally,
P. C. CHRISTIANSEN, Sec'y.
90½ Professor street.

Rhode Island.

PROVIDENCE, Dec. 27.—The following is the list of lectures to be delivered in Textile Hall, 1955 Westminster street, Olneyville square, during the months of January, February, March and April, 1898:

Feb. 27—"Trusts and Monopolies." Mr. E. Sherwood.

Mar. 6—"What Is Socialism." Mr. Anthony McDonald.

Mar. 13—"Building." Mr. George W. Downing.

Mar. 20—"What Knowledge Is Most Important?" Mr. Charles May.

Mar. 27—"Reform and Reformers." Mr. Thomas Curran.

April 3—"Champions of Democracy." Mr. F. Ward.

April 10—"Why I am a Socialist." Mr. E. J. Kelley.

April 17—"The Way Out." Mr. Jas. Reid.

April 24—"The Trend of Civilization." Mr. John Hurley.

Questions and discussions invited at each meeting. Come and discuss these momentous questions of the day. Admission free.

PARLIAMENTS OF LABOR.

D. A. No. 1.

(CENTRAL LABOR FEDERATION OF N. Y.)

Max Sontheimer, delegate of German Waiters' Union No. 1 was chairman at last Sunday's session of the N. Y. Central Labor Federation, D. A. No. 1, S. T. & L. A., and G. Luck, delegate of the Empire City Lodge Machinists, was vice-chairman.

A letter from P. Murphy, secretary pro tem of the Joint D. A. meetings, desired information as to why the organizations in D. A. No. 1 did not attend the meeting on Feb. 5. The letter furthermore stated that D. A. 49 would instruct its delegates according to the answer received. It was resolved to notify the Secretary pro tem of the Joint D. A.'s that the S. L. P. took no action on the Joint D. A.'s meetings, but that the affiliated unions acted individually by voting not to send any more delegates to such meetings.

Ale and Porter Union No. 1 reported donating \$5 to the New Bedford strikers. A resolution thanking the C. L. F. for the picnic prize, was also adopted. The delegates to the C. L. F. were instructed to request that no tickets or shares be accepted from the Workmen's Educational Association, 206 E. 86th street, and to vote for a boycott.

Ind. Bakers' Union, Branch 1, reported donating \$5 to the New Bedford strikers and \$2 for the trial against butcher Martin. In the case of the Workmen's Educational Association they favor action by the Gen. Ex. Board, S. T. & L. A. Boss Kautler's shop, 2d avenue, between 88th and 89th streets, is again a union shop.

Ind. Bakers' Union, Branch 2, reported in writing that boss Kruse, 573 9th avenue, promised several times to send his men to the union, but did not do so, hence the services of the Arbitration Committee was requested. They also favor that the bartenders of the Workmen's Educational Assn. should join their trade union.

Bartenders' Union No. 1 reported that they donated \$2 to the New Bedford strikers. This Friday they will hold a special general meeting at 206 Allen street.

Waiters' Alliance Liberty reported donating \$6 for the New Bedford strikers.

Int. Pianomakers' Union reported having issued subscription lists for the New Bedford strikers to its branches. It is the opinion of the union that the members of the Workmen's Educational Association should join their

Greater New York, S. L. P.,

reported having donated \$25 to the New Bedford strikers, and having sent same to Secretary Henker, of the S. T. & L. A. weavers.

Relative to the withdrawal of the delegates from the C. L. F., a two-thirds majority vote defeated the motion to withdraw.

Prog. Typographical Union No. 32 reported that the pressmen of the Scand. "Arbeteren" had also joined the union. They resolved to sustain the Bartenders' Union No. 1 relative to the Workmen's Educational Association. A complaint was again made that the Abendblatt did not report the proceedings of the C. L. F.

Pressmen and Feeders' Union resolved to sustain the Bartenders' Union No. 1 against the Workmen's Educational Association.

United Marquette Workers resolved to suspend all members in arrears at its next meeting.

A complaint of the German New York Cooks and Pastry Cooks Assn. was referred to the G. E. B. S. T. & L. A.

German Coppersmiths' Union will hold an important meeting Saturday.

Prog. Rolled Cigarette Makers' Union desired that the Arbitration Committee make one more call on L. Miller & Son and see whether he is willing to unionize his factory or not. Granted. They further donated \$5 to the New Bedford strikers. They complained that the "Abendblatt" did not publish a letter officially sent by the union, and one of its delegates claimed that L. Miller was responsible for the non-publication. It was resolved to elect delegates Glaser, Pomantz and Berlin a committee to investigate the charge.

United Engineers No. 1 reported donating \$3 to the New Bedford strikers.

It was resolved to telegraph the United Hebrew Trades at Chicago a congratulatory message, it being their first anniversary celebration, as follows: "New York Central Labor Federation in session sends congratulation to your first annual celebration, and wishes you continued progress on Socialist lines. Ernest Bohm, Cor. Secy."

Delegate E. Leske, of Ind. Bakers' Union, Branch 1, announced that he was discharged by boss Schumann because the Workmen's Educational Assn. did not employ union men, the loss being a member of the association and claiming that while they did not employ union men, he need not. Section Greater New York, S. L. P., shall be notified of this matter. It was also announced that J. Faulhaber, 1551 2d avenue, had stated that if the Workmen's Educational Assn. did not employ union bartenders he saw no reason why he should.

The trustees were instructed to make arrangements for the ninth anniversary celebration of the C. L. F.

M. Braun (cock) donated \$1 to the New Bedford strikers.

Relative to one Westemberger's attempt to injure the festival of the "New York Volks-Zeitung," it was reported that he had to appear before Mayor Krauss on command of the G. Bechtel Br. Co. and retract his insults. He had done so ruefully.

General Executive Board, S. T. & L. A.

F. W. Wilson was chairman at the last meeting, Wednesday, February 16.

A committee representing the Prog. Rolled Cigarette Makers' Union requested permission to use a label on their product different from that of the S. T. & L. A. The union was notified by letter that a uniform label had been adopted by a referendum vote which was now in use, and the Board was bound to authorize the use of this label only.

On complaint of the Secretary that mail matter had not been delivered in different cities and neither returned, it was decided to hereafter send mail matter under cover containing the name and address of the Secretary only. The Secretary was instructed to notify the Post Office at New York and Washington of this complaint and state that it appeared as if the Soc. T. & L. A. mail matter was extensively suppressed.

D. De Leon reported having successfully organized three Local Alliances in New Bedford as follows: One composed of English-speaking weavers, one of English-speaking spinners and one of German and Bohemian weavers. Stress was laid upon the necessity of sending all collected monies to the officers of the Alliance weavers. The money collected by the N. Y. Central Labor Federation, D. A. No. 1, THE PEOPLE, "N. Y. Volks-Zeitung" and "Vorwärts" will be forwarded that way.

Socialist Club, of Newark, N. J., sent an invitation for a smoker on March 5, 1898, to close the season. This was accepted, and the G. E. B. will attend.

Prog. Tailors' Alliance, Buffalo, N. Y., voted \$50 for the "Daily People" fund.

A list of unions was read who are in arrears with dues over the constitutional time; they will be notified to pay up or return the charter. Only unions in good standing can be represented at the coming convention.

According to a newspaper report, the Hatmakers' Union of Newark, N. J., was announced as being affiliated with the S. T. & L. A. This is false; they have not as yet applied for a charter.

Charters were granted to Mixed Trade Alliance of Philadelphia, Pa.; Bronx Borough Labor Club; Pioneer Cigar-Makers' Union and Wrapper Makers' Union.

The committee to whom was referred the appeal of Waiters' Alliance Liberty, against the finding of the N. Y. Central Labor Federation, D. A. No. 1, in the case of Waiters' Union No. 1, reported that the appeal should be dismissed for the following reasons: 1) Waiters' Alliance Liberty, L. A. 19, failed to organize the branch of the trade assigned to them. 2) That if members of L. A. No. 19 wish to work in any other

THE DAILY PEOPLE

\$50,000 FUND.

Amount Pledged down to February 9th, 1898.

\$4,575.

The following amounts have been paid down to February 9th, 1898, incl.:
Previously acknowledged, \$317.76
J. Mahlon Barnes, Philadelphia, Pa., \$5; C. L. Furman, Brooklyn, N. Y., \$10; Andrew McElden, Marietta, Wash., \$10; State Committee S. L. P., Conn., \$15
Total, \$357.76
Pledgers will please keep in mind the dates on which their payments fall due, as per printed list, and remit promptly. If any error appears on the list, correct with equal promptness.

THE DAILY PEOPLE COMMITTEE.
184 William St., N. Y.

West Side Assembly Districts, Socialist Labor Party.

A FREE LECTURE

By H. CARLESS.

Subject:

When Prosperity Will Come,

will be Delivered and

Illustrated by Gorgeous Stereoscopic Views

at Bloomingdale Turn - Verein Hall.

54th Street and 8th Avenue.

on SATURDAY, February 26th, at 8 P. M. sharp.

WORKINGMEN! Attend this Free Lecture and learn the opinions of an able socialist speaker, upon your industrial condition. We socialists are not dogmatic in our views, neither are we afraid of questions or discussions, hence questions will be allowed and a free discussion will be permitted.

WORKINGMEN, come in your numbers to learn if you are sympathetic, to debate if you are not.

branch of their trade, they can transfer to the Local controlling such branch. The committee gave as its opinion that it would be better if quarrelling would stop and they work together for the benefit of their organization and the members. The report was adopted and a copy ordered sent to each union.

John Schenck, Knoxville, Tenn., requested organizing material.

P. Jensen, Utica, N. Y., wrote for constitutions and material.

D. A. No. 10, Boston, Mass., announced making good progress and that several trades would be gained for the S. T. & L. A. Secretary Hy. Wehner reported that the piano-making trade was very dull, but that D. A. No. 10 would aid International Pianomakers' Union, D. A. No. 6, when circumstances were favorable. D. A. No. 10 will hold a ball on April 1, and remitted a complimentary ticket. The Secretary was instructed to reply to several matters contained in the letter.

Geo. A. Krumholz, New Bedford, notified the body that the weavers understood the aims and objects of the S. T. & L. A., and were earnestly agitating for it.

The next meeting will be held Wednesday, March 2nd, at 64 East Fourth street.

D. A. 49.

The regular meeting of D. A. 49 was held on Friday evening, February 18th. Roll call of officers showed District Statistician Knicks absent.

Credentials were received from Bakers' Union L. A. 34 for Michael Danning.

From Bronx Borough Labor Club, Rosenzweig, Fred, Felling and Fred, Werdenberg.

From Pioneer Cigarmakers, H. Weinberger, Wm. Frist and Max Stark, who were all admitted and obligated.

Communication from 16th Assembly District stated that the "Volks-Zeitung" had reported that they had organized the cigarmakers into the S. T. & L. A., and wished the same to be corrected as D. A. 49 had organized them.

Secretary was instructed to so notify the "Volks-Zeitung."

District Sec'y reported that a mass meeting had been held in the headquarters of the 34th and 25th Assembly Districts, on Monday evening, Feb. 7th. Comrade Vogt addressed the meeting, after which a mixed alliance had been organized with 17 charter members, to be known as the Bronx Borough Labor Club. On Thursday, Feb. 10th, a mass meeting was held in the headquarters of the 16th Assembly District, which was addressed by Comrade De Leon. After which a local of cigarmakers was organized with 23 charter members, to be known as Pioneer Cigarmakers' Union, L. A. 141. Had made arrangements for a mass meeting to be held in the 12th Assembly District on Friday, March 4th, to organize the embroidery and knitting workers. Had also written to the 13th Assembly District for a date to hold a mass meeting there, but so far had received no reply. A committee for the Longshoremen and Seamen's Union of Hoboken had called and requested speakers for their mass meeting, to be held on Tuesday afternoon, Feb. 23d, in C. Rusack's Hall, corner First and Bloomfield streets, Hoboken, N. J. Comrades Murphy and Brower were appointed to attend. Secretary also stated he had looked after the interests of the members of L. A. 122, 238 and 2394, who are involved in a strike in S. Well's shoe factory, 79 Reade street. Cause of strike was a demand for the firm to pay the same prices as other manufacturers who make the same grade of work. The strike in Thomas' shoe factory, Brooklyn, had been settled. Committee appointed to devise ways and means to have this district and locals attached represented in the next convention reported progress. Tailors' Prog. Union, L. A. 11, reported that they had held an agitation meeting, which was addressed by Comrade Feigenbaum. The subject was "Social Democracy vs. Socialist Labor Party." Some comrades requested the Local to hold another agitation meeting and invite some member of the Social Democracy and a Comrade of the S. L. P. This was agreed to, and the meeting will take place on Monday, Feb. 28th. A committee of the William Morris Club, which was organized to further the interests of the Jewish Vorwärts, had visited their Local to sell some tickets. After some of the members of L. A. 11 had questioned the committee, the Local refused to have anything to do with them. Prog. Clothing Cutters, L. A. 68, reported that they had elected a committee to the May Day

Conference. Also elected a committee to raise funds to buy a flag, which they wished to have for the May Day parade. They requested the District to instruct the delegates to report to their Locals to urge upon the members when buying clothing to demand the label of the S. T. & L. A. Comrade Ehrenpreis, of this Local, then made his statement in relation to the strike of the employees of Sweet, Orr & Co., in which it was shown that these people who belong to a Local of the Garment Workers were compelled to submit to any terms which Harry White and his gang of fakirs saw fit to make with the firm, whose watchword seemed to be "Dues and label; never mind the members' interests."

Excelsior Labor Club, L. A. 1563, reports progress, and will hold a meeting at 23 Duane street on Feb. 23d. All members are requested to attend. L. A. 84, Bakers' Union, reported they were holding joint conferences with Locals of the International Union, but this did not mean that they would withdraw from the S. T. & L. A., as they are in the progressive movement to stay. They also elected a committee to the May Day Conference.

Goodyear Turn and Welt Shoeworkers, L. A. 2394, reported that they had held their second monthly smoker on Tuesday, Feb. 15th, which was well attended. The settlement of the strike in Thomas' factory was a sort of a compromise, but a great many of the members were dissatisfied, which may at any time cause further trouble.

Bronx Borough Labor Club reported that Comrade Hickey had spoken at their meeting on Feb. 14th, and at the conclusion they gained five new members. They will hold a mass meeting for the machinists on Monday evening, Feb. 28th, which will be addressed by Comrade Hickey.

Pioneer Cigarmakers' Union, L. A. 141, reported that they would hold a mass meeting on Thursday, March 3d, and requested speakers for the same. Also admitted new members at their last meeting.

Pioneer Alliance reported progress and requested that the conference of the Brooklyn Locals be held as soon as possible.

Comrade Hoffman, of L. A. 11, called the attention of the District to the condition of the tailors of Brooklyn, and requested the District to take steps to organize them. Was referred to the Secretary. Comrade De Leon reported that the Broad Side Weavers had sent a committee to him requesting that the District hold a mass meeting on the West Side some time next week to organize a local alliance of their trade. Secretary was instructed to make arrangements.

The following L. As. were absent: Nos. 43, 122 and 1028.

Secretary was instructed to notify these Locals that their delegates did not attend.

W. L. BROWER, Secretary.

DOCUMENTS FOR FUTURE HISTORY.

In the Matter of the Relations of the S. L. P. and the Socialist Publishing Association.

The issue establishing the principle that the Publishing Association is a Publishing Committee of the S. L. P. closes with this third document:

Doc. III.

New York, Feb. 18, 1898.

To General Committee of Section New York:

Comrades—I have to notify you that the Socialist Co-operative Publishing Association, at its last meeting took the resolution in consideration which was passed by your body at your last session in regard to the election of Rudolph Modest to our Board of Directors. It was decided to call a special meeting, with the order of business the withdrawal of said Rudolph Modest from this office. This special meeting took place on February 17th at the Labor Lyceum, and the gentleman was withdrawn by a vote of 53 against 11.

With Socialistic greeting.

ROBERT GLAZER, Secretary.

Daily People Morning Fund.

Previously acknowledged, \$2,165.96
Branch 1, 26th Ward, Brooklyn, N. Y., 2.65

Total, \$2,168.61

HENRY KUHN, Fin. Secy.

The receipt of a sample copy of this paper is an invitation to subscribe.

Trades and Societies Calendar

Standing advertisements of Trades Unions and other Societies (not exceeding five lines) will be inserted under this heading hereafter at the rate of \$5.00 per annum.

Organizations should not lose such an opportunity of advertising their places of meeting.

Carl Sahm Club (Musicians Union).
Meeting every Tuesday at 10 a. m., at 64 East 4th street, New York Labor Lyceum. Business Secretary: Fred.

Central Labor Federation of New York (S. T. & L. A., D. A. No. 1). Meets at 2:30 every Sunday afternoon at 64 East 4th street, New York City. All bona-fide trade and labor Unions should be represented. Communications are to be sent to the corresponding Secretary, Ernest Bohm, 64 East 4th street, New York City.

Cigarmakers' Progressive International Union No. 90. Office and Employment Bureau, 64 East 4th street—District 1 (Bohemian), 324 East 71st street, every Saturday at 8 p. m.—District 11 (German), at 213 Forsyth St., meets every Saturday at 8 p. m.—District III, meets at 157 Avenue A, every Saturday at 8 p. m.—District IV, meets at 342 West 42nd street, every Saturday at 8 p. m.—The Board of Supervisors meets every Tuesday at 142 2nd avenue, at 8 p. m.

Empire City Lodge (Machinists), meets every 2d and 4th Wednesday evening at the Labor Lyceum, 64 East 4th street.

Secretary: PETER STABLE.

German Waiters' Union of New York. Office: 38 Bowery. Union Hall, 1st floor. Meetings every Friday at 4 p. m. Board of Supervisors meets every Wednesday at 4 p. m., at the same hall.

Musical Protective Alliance No. 1028. D. A. 49, S. T. & L. A., Headquarters, 79 E. 4th street. Meetings every Friday at 10 o'clock noon. Fred Hartmann, Pres.; Fred Wolf, Cor. Secy., 79 E. 4th St. J. S. Krieger, Business Agent.